

1963

fects" program here last July to establish a new quality standard for the aerospace industry.

The General Electric Co., sent men here to study the Martin program which aims to get it done right the first time. They were so impressed by the program and its results that they worked out a similar program and launched it this week with a bang on Monday. Senators SALTONSTALL and KENNEDY and Massachusetts Governor Peabody were on hand for the launching of the project.

Success of the original "zero defects" program here at the Martin Co., has attracted international attention and has been used widely as a basis for similar projects. High praise for the Orlando plan has come from such well-known firms as Rolls-Royce, Ltd. "The 'zero defects' program is the best I have yet seen," said a Rolls-Royce official.

The Martin Co. is delighted with the success of the program. Plant rejects have been cut by an unbelievable 25 percent and scrap costs have been slashed a hefty 30 percent. Individual employees have been setting new high records for perfection. Typical is the record of one on-the-line employee who has hand soldered more than 4,000 electrical connections for the Bulbup missile since last August without a single defect. The program emphasizes the importance of the work of every employee high and low and a spirit of pride is instilled in every member of the great Martin team.

The "zero defects" idea has caught on with the suppliers and subcontractors of Martin with most gratifying results. An example is the Dev-Tek Corp. of Orlando which has delivered 32,500 printed circuits without a single reject.

And this ambitious program which sets perfection as its achievable goal has done much to strengthen the Nation in its defense effort while saving untold dollars for the American taxpayer. The more this project is copied the more value it will be to the Nation.

#### ZERO DEFECTS PROGRAM SCORES

The Orlando division of Martin Co. has announced the results of its quality assurance program—"zero defects." The program was originated by Martin—the aerospace division of Martin Marietta Corp.—just 7 months ago.

Because of its tremendous success in terms of higher quality, lower rejects, and time and money saved by elimination of considerable rework, the "zero defects" program is rapidly being picked up by other aerospace companies and the military services.

Since July 1962 when Martin-Orlando kicked off the "zero defects" program with its more than 10,000 defense industry employees, success of the program—in preventing defects—has been beyond all expectations.

Here are just some of the results:

Entire Pershing ground support sets have been delivered to the U.S. Army without defects in either hardware or documentation.

Overall plant reject (defective hardware and documentation) rate has dropped 25 percent as compared with the same period in 1961.

Scrap costs have been reduced 30 percent as compared to the same period in 1961.

There have been numerous individual achievements throughout the plant. For example: A solderer on the Bulbup manufacturing line has hand soldered over 4,000 electrical connections without a defect since August 1.

A total of 30 Coral "A" receivers for Bulbup missiles were manufactured without a single defect. This complex device has 583 hand-soldered joints. Total possible errors in soldering alone amounts to 17,490.

In the structural tool manufacturing department the acceptable quality level of 4 percent rejects has been cut to less than 2 percent since the start of the "zero defects" program.

The "zero defects" program has caught the attention of many vendors and subcontractors. Their results have been equally gratifying. For example, the Dev-Tek Corp. of Orlando, a small business firm, has delivered more than 32,500 printed circuit boards without a single reject since inception of its Martin-inspired "zero defects" program.

General Electric's Flight Propulsion Laboratory at West Lynn, Mass., kicked off a "zero defects" program yesterday with its 6,500 employees.

Martin's "zero defects" program is based on the premise that mistakes are caused by two things: lack of knowledge and lack of attention. Lack of knowledge can be corrected through tried and true means, but lack of attention is an attitude problem which must be corrected by the employee.

It is this attitude which Martin is seeking to correct through a three-pronged "zero defects" program which attacks the fallacy that humans "are supposed to err," motivates people to do better and directs those motivated people to achieve a goal of "zero defects" through defect prevention.

### Col. David Marcus, 1902-48

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. LEONARD FARBSTAIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 18, 1963

Mr. FARBSTAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial which appeared in the East Side News, a publication with wide circulation in my congressional district in memory of the late Col. David Marcus:

COL. DAVID MARCUS, 1902-48

(By Abe E. Eisenstein)

February 22, Washington's Birthday, marks the 61st anniversary of the birth of the late native East Side youngster, Brooklynite, West Pointer, superior athlete, noted lawyer and prominent New Yorker, outstanding government and city official, a dogooder and courageous man, one of our heroes of our times in America and modern Israel, famed World War II veteran, first Israel Army general under the pseudonym of Michael Stone, a great soldier, a truly dedicated man with a warm and dynamic personality—the colorful Col. David "Mickey" Marcus.

David Daniel Marcus, son of the late Mordecai and Leah (Gold) Marcus, freedom-loving immigrant parents from the Ghetto of Jassy, Rumania, was born on the fifth floor, rear, of an old tenement house at 103 Hester Street. He was one of six children, four boys and two girls. His father had a pushcart vegetable stand and later acquired a small vegetable store. The sudden death of Mordecai Marcus made it necessary for the family to move into an old Brooklyn tenement at 354 Powell Street.

East Side boy, Public School 109, Talmud Torah School, Hebrew Educational Society, Educational Alliance, Boys' High School (excellent in his studies and was a star baseball and football player), CCNY, U.S. Military Academy (brilliant student, intercollegiate welterweight boxing champion, gymnast, and class of 1924), Brooklyn Law School

(class of 1927) alumnus, Attorney David Marcus married Emma Chaison, a school teacher, on July 3, 1927. His ever faithful wife now resides at 485 Westminster Road, Brooklyn.

He was the first American to get a look at Dachau, where the Nazis slaughtered thousands of his fellow Jews ("The bodies were still piled up like cordwood, after that, I didn't need any more lessons in the importance of a Jewish state.")

Colonel Marcus was killed in Jerusalem on June 10, 1948 (Sivan 3) and was buried among the military immortals at West Point. In his 46-year span, he had a most colorful career. His friends came from every walk of life and from every faith and creed.

He was the recipient of many decorations from the United States, the British Empire, New York State, others, and posthumously the Israeli Order of Independence. On June 10, 1954, Mayor Robert F. Wagner proclaimed Thursday as Col. David Marcus Memorial Day, and in Brooklyn, July 28, 1956, the dedication of the Col. David Marcus Junior High School 263 took place. In Israel, in his honor was created the Kibbutz Mishmar David; the David Military Library at Sarafand; the Colonel Marcus stamp, and Camp Marcus on Mt. Carmel in Haifa. At West Point, the Colonel Marcus Memorial Award is made annually by the Marcus Foundation to the outstanding boxer of the graduating class.

Author Ted Berkman recounts "Marcus' heroic feats as fighter, intellectual, and leader of men," in his 321-page book, "Cast a Giant Shadow." Once read, reread, he could never be forgotten.

A birthday salute to the memory of a great American and "soldier of humanity"—Col. David "Mickey" Marcus—who helped preserve freedom for our Nation, and was a distinguished hero of Israel's war of liberation.

### Republicans Turn Backward as They Plan Strategy for 1964 Campaign

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

### HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, Republican Members of Congress seem to have enjoyed their Lincoln Day jaunts back home. Although the press has not reported very much that they said about Abraham Lincoln, it has given great prominence to their remarks about Cuba.

It is typical and true to form that modern-day Republican politicians turn backward for guidance. Cuba and Kennedy to these Republican strategists are synonymous with Korea and Truman. They forget that Rockefeller does not have a white horse and he is only a Governor, not a general.

The following column by Drew Pearson in the Washington Post on Monday, February 25, will be interesting to refer to the day after election in November 1964:

#### ROCKEFELLER BEHIND CUBA UPROAR?

(By Drew Pearson)

If you want to understand the reasons for the frenzied clamor on Capitol Hill regarding Cuba, you have to know what's going on behind the scenes in Republican politics.

No. 1. It's virtually certain that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York will be the

Republican candidate for President. He has made plans to set up a working staff immediately; has told intimates he will definitely enter the primary in New Hampshire, a State in which he went to college and serves on the Dartmouth Board of Trustees; will also enter the Wisconsin primary.

No. 2 Rockefeller has picked Cuba and foreign affairs as his chief campaign weapon against President Kennedy, with civil rights as his second.

This is the real reason why Senator JACK JAVITS of New York flabbergasted his civil rights friends in the Senate by making a petty gripe against an insignificant ruling by Vice President JOHNSON to adjourn after the filibustering rules vote. Later JAVITS, a fair-minded Senator but under no obligation to the Governor of New York, came to see JOHNSON privately and apologized.

No apology has come from the other New York Senator, KEN KEATING of Rochester, for the rabble-rousing speeches he has made on Cuba. KEATING is a smart lawyer and, in the past, a decent Senator. He was not a McCarthy admirer. However, his inflammatory speeches on Cuba have fanned senatorial colleagues of Joe McCarthy in his heyday.

#### JUST ONE MISSILE

A minority of Republican Senators has joined the Keating wolfpack on Cuba in the same spirit that the late Bob Taft supported McCarthy. When McCarthy was claiming there were "205 card-carrying Communists known to Dean Acheson" in the State Department, every fair-minded Republican knew this could not be true. But Taft told a GOP meeting: "Suppose he finds just one Communist—we'll have Truman on the run."

Likewise, every Republican Senator knows today that all offensive Soviet missiles are almost certainly removed from Cuba. But they argue privately: "Suppose KEATING finds just one—we'll have Kennedy on the run."

What most people outside Senate cloak-rooms don't know, however, is that when KEATING speaks. It's KEATING's voice but Rockefeller's mastermind. The two men are extremely close. They ran together on the same ticket in 1958, when Keating didn't really want to run, didn't really expect to win. Rockefeller support and Rockefeller money helped him win. And the two will probably be running together again in 1964, one for the Senate, the other for President.

Meanwhile, KEATING has sent his ghost writer, ace newsmen Hugh Morrow, formerly of the Saturday Evening Post, to help Rocky in Albany, and the Governor is on the phone to KEATING more or less every other day.

#### PULLING THE GOP RUC

Real fact is that Kennedy has won some amazing victories in Cuba. Few diplomatic observers really expected Khrushchev to start pulling troops out of Cuba. But he did—another victory for Kennedy. But every victory he wins helps pull the rug out from under Rockefeller's strategy; so the howl from the war clique in Congress becomes more frenzied. It could also become dangerous.

The danger is that too much warmongering in the Senate will heal one of the most important rifts ever to occur in the Communist world—that between Russia and Red China. Or it could knock the props out from under Khrushchev's moderate policy and reinstate the tough tactics of the Red Army.

These cross currents inside the Communist world can shift rapidly. If they shift for the worse, there could be real danger of war. And if the United States is at war in 1964, Nelson Rockefeller won't have a prayer of winning. The United States has never been known to defeat a Democratic war President—especially when he's pushed into war by Republicans.

## Dunlop Workers Accept Revision in Pay Structure

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 7, 1963

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, labor and industry both are faced today with never-ending changes that must be dealt with if they are to continue to exist.

New materials, automation, changing demands of the buying public, competition, operating costs, and many other factors, must be kept in focus by management, while labor keeps its eye on its own needs in the face of rising costs of living, changing social patterns, and so forth.

Labor-management unity too often receives insufficient attention, and I want to take this opportunity to call to the attention of Congress and the American people a recent example of responsible coordination which occurred in my home community of Buffalo, N.Y.

As a result, production workers in the plant of the Dunlop Tire & Rubber Corp. have voted 8 to 1 in favor of accepting a significant revision in their labor-grade rate structure, with the aim of helping to improve their employer's competitive cost position.

Ed Kelly, a labor reporter for the Buffalo Evening News, explained this union action in detail on February 22, 1963, as follows:

DUNLOP WORKERS ACCEPT REVISION IN PAY STRUCTURE—VOTE IS 841 TO 106 IN MOVE TO IMPROVE TONAWANDA PLANT'S COMPETITIVE POSITION

(By Ed Kelly)

Production workers in the Dunlop Tire & Rubber Corp.'s town of Tonawanda plant have voted 8 to 1 to accept a revision in their labor-grade pay structure to improve their employer's competitive cost position.

Louis DiVito, president of local 135, United Rubber Workers (AFL-CIO), said the members approved the revision, 841 to 106, in day-long secret balloting Thursday. The total vote represents nearly all the current work force.

The company and union had disclosed earlier this week that they had reviewed the incentive program and other local issues designed to improve competitive costs.

Proposals growing out of this review were explained to the union membership Tuesday and Wednesday, with the ballot on acceptance or rejection set for Thursday.

#### RECOMMENDED BY BOARD

The 11-member executive board of the local union had unanimously recommended adoption of the new plan.

After the union's report on the balloting, J. M. Billane, president of the Dunlop plant, declared:

"On behalf of management, I welcome this sensible and responsible action on the part of the workers and employees involved in this comprehensive reorganization of the tire division.

"It was the first and fundamental step in a program which will increase sales and employment in 1963. I am optimistic about the company's progress in both the near- and the long-term future."

The Dunlop president said he was "particularly glad that the time has at last arrived" when he could "effectively scotch all the rumors which had been circulated about the company."

#### NOT GOING OUT OF CITY

Mr. Billane added:

"We are not going out of this city and we are not going out of the tire business. We are going to be competitive and we are going forward from here on."

As he announced the outcome of the URW membership vote, Local President DiVito declared:

"The leadership of local 135 is happy to see that the union membership, on the basis of Thursday's vote, agreed overwhelmingly with the local's executive board in acting responsibly upon the new labor-grade rate structure as vital to the continuation and improvement of the Dunlop operation in our area."

#### HERE FOR 40 YEARS

"As responsible leaders in the trade union movement, we must protect by all honorable means the jobs and security of our members.

"This action taken by local 135 does just that by insuring not only that a company which for 40 years has been a member of our industrial community will remain here, but also that it will be possible for that company to secure new business, which can only further improve and protect the job future of nearly 1,000 members of the United Rubber Workers Union on the Niagara Frontier."

The Dunlop operation annually pumps an estimated \$17.5 million into this area's economic life through payroll, purchases and taxes.

#### Cuban Refugees

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 27, 1963

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, the return of Cuban refugees to a land of freedom—to the United States of America—from their own Communist-controlled country was an act of mercy, an act of love, joined in by so many businesses and industries and individual citizens of our Nation. Among the companies which contributed its facilities, its manpower and its resources was one of America's great companies—the United Fruit Co. Mr. Speaker, this progressive company was founded by the late Samuel Zemurray, and in its years of development and in its work in Central America, United Fruit has contributed immeasurably to the economic growth and prosperity of those countries, and to the health and welfare of their peoples.

In aiding Cuban refugees to come to the United States, the United Fruit Co. not only contributed \$400,000 worth of food, but also it donated its ship, the *SS Santo Cerro*, to carry to Cuba approximately 1,900 tons of children's foods and medicines, and then to bring some 750 Cuban citizens back to America and land them at Port Everglades, Fla. En route from Havana to Port Everglades, the company's stewards prepared and served two hot meals for the Cubans on

board. The United Fruit Co. employees were ably assisted in their work by American Red Cross staffers and a Red Cross medical team.

Mr. Speaker, this is a prime example of the humanitarian spirit which moves the American people in all walks of life, from all professions and businesses and industries, to join together in a spirit of harmony to aid oppressed and underprivileged people. The United Fruit Co. has displayed the true Christian spirit by its act of generosity and kindness. America can, and should, be proud of companies like United Fruit for just such humanitarian actions. I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD a news release on the heralded trip of the S.S. *Santo Cerro*, which reveals its splendid work. The copy follows:

ABOARD SS "SANTO CERRO" AT SEA, February 13.—Cuban refugees en route to the United States got their first generous portion of American hospitality just a few minutes after this Red Cross mercy ship left Cuban waters for Port Everglades, Fla.

The ship left Havana at 6:30 p.m. on the return leg of a journey that began in Baltimore on February 7. The United Fruit Co. vessel brought to Cuba over 1,900 tons of children's foods and medicines (worth \$2.5 million) donated by American firms as part of the exchange of the Bay of Pigs prisoners.

At 8:30 this morning the first of the 750 persons granted exit permits by the Cuban Government began arriving at the pier in Havana. They started to board about 1 p.m.

A Red Cross medical team arrived by plane from Miami shortly before noon to find that the crew and three ARC staff members who came to Cuba aboard the ship had already made extensive arrangements for the care of the refugees in the four cargo holds.

The United Fruit Co., which contributed \$400,000 of the food cargo as well as donating the ship to the Red Cross, prepared to feed two hot meals during the approximately 14-hour crossing. The ship stewards added an extra meal of soup and fruit for those who arrived early and had to wait out the day.

Two of several litter cases on board ship were among almost the very last to arrive, brought to the pier after 6 p.m. in Cuban Red Cross ambulances. While awaiting the ship's departure, passengers settled in holds on cots and blankets the American Red Cross had, flown from Miami or read magazines from the outdoor library set up on the after-deck by the crew.

Virtually every member of the crew, from Capt. Edmond McIntyre to the engineroom gang, assisted with the passengers. They helped to bring aboard the aged, the very young, and the 10 stretcher cases. They continued to help the Red Cross doctor and nurses throughout the voyage.

The refugees, youngest of whom is 10-day-old Jauer Esetev, include 282 men, 304 women, and 160 children—and 5 pet dogs.

They were all below deck when the ship left Havana. The chief engineer, Romon Bermudez, kept up a running account of the departure in Spanish. Each announcement was greeted with mixed tears and cheers. The final announcement that the *Santo Cerro* had left Cuban waters produced the most emotional outburst.

The refugees sang the Cuban national anthem. They cheered the United States and the Red Cross. They gave a special cheer for Mrs. Louise Zavalydriga, ARC nurse's aid from Miami, who was making her third voyage aboard an ARC mercy ship between Havana and Port Everglades. With

a tearful smile, she told fellow ARC workers that "No matter how often you do this, you can never take it for granted when you give this kind of help to people."

After the ship was well out at sea, United Fruit Co. stewards served all refugees with beef stew, rice and beans, cream pie, coffee, milk, and apples. Mess lines were set up on deck and in the holds. Volunteers from among the passengers carried food to those who were too old or infirm to climb the steep ladders out of the holds.

Most of the children went to bed early, rocked to sleep as this "night boat to freedom" rolled northward through the choppy waters of the Florida Strait.

Up in the steward's department, crew members worked through the night preparing a hot breakfast for the refugees.

### Enterprise Day

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 21, 1963.

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to an editorial appearing in the Garden City News on Thursday, February 21, 1963. This public service editorial appears to me to present a worthwhile idea, which I believe worthy of the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives.

Its text is as follows:

#### ENTERPRISE DAY

In an address last week before the New York State Bankers Association, Dr. James F. Bender, professor of business administration at Adelphi College, advanced an idea which we loudly applaud.

He advocated that the bankers' associations in each of the 50 States take the leadership in establishing one day in the year to be observed as Enterprise Day.

"Because we sometimes forget that competitive enterprise nurtures, better than any other economic climate, the protection and advancement of the dignity of the individual as well as his material welfare," Dr. Bender said, "it would be good to pause nationally once a year, as we do on Labor Day, to pay respect to enterprise."

We agree wholeheartedly. An entire generation in this country has been spoon fed by starry-eyed and sometimes cockeyed economists to such an extent that this generation has no idea of what private competitive enterprise has done to create what is called the American way of life.

An entire generation has been conditioned to the thinking of those who are doing their best to make the United States of America a welfare state. Private competitive enterprise has been ridiculed as old hat. It is surprising how many young people today honestly believe that Government owes them a living.

This Nation observes all sorts of weeks that promote various kinds of merchandise or movements—some worthy, others questionable. So, it seems to us that one day in the year could be devoted to recognizing private enterprise for what it is—the thing that has made this Nation great.

We hope the bankers will move ahead in a positive manner to make Dr. Bender's idea become a reality.

### Discrimination Theory

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we have just concluded commemorating brotherhood week which serves as an extremely useful purpose in calling attention to the prejudices which often hinder the proper use of talent in our great Nation. The lesson of brotherhood week is one of toleration and understanding—virtues which we all must practice.

The Des Plaines Valley News, an independent community publication serving a substantial number of Cook County south suburban communities, in its issue of Thursday, February 21, carried a thought-provoking editorial discussing some of the historical background in discrimination.

Under unanimous consent, I insert this editorial into the RECORD at this point, feeling that it is a thoughtful and helpful commentary on a problem which not only faces the United States but all peoples throughout the world:

[From the Des Plaines (Ill.) Valley News, Feb. 21, 1963]

#### DISCRIMINATION THEORY

"We have been called black monkeys and jungle people and treated like dirt," stated one of the 300 young Ghanaians leaving Communist Bulgaria in disgust over the treatment handed his people in that country. One African student stated, "There was more discrimination in this Communist country than could be in any of the so-called capitalistic countries \* \* \* people used to spit out before us on buses and trains."

Soviets long used a racial discrimination theme as a weapon to sway the African and underprivileged into communistic lines.

However, the incidents show that Russia has as much, if not more racial and religious discrimination than any other nation. Our own Argo residents that have visited Moscow, Russia, or smaller cities under Soviet control report that they seldom encounter a Negro or a Jew.

In Russia, citizens need a police pass in order to travel from one part of the country to another, even for visits. This is similar to requiring that police approve passes of persons living in Detroit to visit in Chicago. Only one nation uses atheism as its official policy—Russia. Thus the "no discrimination" statements that the Russians have officially released during the past decades are more lies than truths.

Discrimination is a form of hostility which an individual acquires. It is the distrust of the stranger, or a fancied enemy.

Remember during World War I, the treatment handed those of German nationality, and in World War II, the treatment handed the American-Japanese citizens residing in California. Or treatment accorded our own American Indians who were forced to reside in "reservations"?

Each race, at one time or another, was the target of hostility. The Italian because a few of his race became gangsters, the Jew because of the heritage of distrust, the Mexican because of the few that were lazy, the American Indian because a few liked the taste of whiskey, the Polish race because a few were slow and stubborn.

In the day when Casar ruled, the blond captives from Britain and Norway took the highest prices on the slave market.

If the Negro complains that he is bound in a "ghetto" due to discrimination, let him look at the American Indian, or the "Chinatown" within any large city. It is the American Indian who has a real case for treatment accorded his kind, as he had been forced to live in "reservations" since the West became populated.

Look at any large city today. You will find areas where numerous Germans live, another where numerous Swedes live, another where Italians live, another where Czech people live, another where Greeks reside.

Together, the groups helped America become the leader of civilization. Each race contributed its best talent toward that strength, thus assuring supremacy.

No one race can criticize another for slum housing, for within each nationality there are some that by their individual nature don't give a hoot how their homes look.

It is the opinion of many scholars that if the Negro were given the right to live where they chose, the same result would have been gained, as those of the same racial background tend to group together naturally, due to their religion, their customs, their beliefs and mannerisms. A Swede living in "Chinatown" section would most assuredly feel out of place.

When living in foreign nations, Americans tend to group themselves into American colonies or compounds. In a sense they are grouping themselves in a "ghetto." Naturally a few part with the main group, but national festivities usually finds all Americans together.

It is important that one views discrimination as an expression of hostility rather than a fact, for man's nature is such that any stranger is bound to look queer or suspicious until association proves the doubt cleared.

People who are the most prejudiced are those who had least contact with the group they dislike. This is true regardless of color or race or creed. The stranger always finds it difficult to make his home in a new neighborhood until he becomes acquainted.

No law can change an attitude, for this is taught. The majority attitude is the toughest to crack.

Every race, nationality, and religious group produced men of worth. Every one produced scoundrels.

The remainder of us are between. Thus in observance of Brotherhood Week, February 17-24, let us explore our prejudices; perhaps we shall find merely signs of hostility against the stranger, or a fancied enemy.

Each star in the sky looks alike. Yet, each is different in size, in shape, in color, in rotation, to its place in the universe. Each is dependent on another.

Man, too, is like a star.

### Quiet as a Mouse

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, it is most discouraging that the President of the United States can be increasingly brutal to the businessmen of the country when they do not do his bidding and

yet, when it comes to enemy No. 1 to the freedom of the world, Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Kennedy is as quiet as a mouse. It is no wonder we no longer hear any more about current prestige polls, about our posture in the eyes of the world, and why we are losing the respect of our friends because of our program of appeasement of Khrushchev.

David Lawrence, in yesterday's Washington Evening Star, fully discusses our weak position.

The article follows:

ANSWERING MOSCOW'S WAR THREAT—U.S. FAILURE TO REBUT MALINOVSKY WITH FACTS ON CUBA IS CRITICIZED

(By David Lawrence)

Tens of millions of dollars are appropriated annually to get America's story before the court of world opinion. Yet, when a golden opportunity comes to put the Moscow aggressor on the spot, it is deliberately ignored.

The defense minister of the Soviet Government, Marshal Rodion Y. Malinovsky, made a startling speech last Friday to an audience of 6,000 in the Kremlin palace. Seated beside him, nodding approval, was Premier Khrushchev. Mr. Malinovsky said:

"We would like to warn the aggressive circles of the United States that an attack on the Cuban republic would mean a third world war."

But who sent into Cuba those offensive missiles and weapons, together with at least 17,000 troops and technicians? No satisfactory explanation of the presence of this hostile armament and forces to operate it has been made by Moscow.

Should the American Government continue to remain silent, or should it present the facts comprehensively to the world and formally accuse the Soviet Government of a threatened aggression against the United States and the other countries of the Western Hemisphere? Does the latest Soviet declaration mean that the United States must give up all plans to take any action against Cuba, even when American lives and property may be endangered, or when evidence is uncovered that Cuba is being used as a base to export guerrillas and arms to other Latin-American countries to start revolutions there?

If any governments is guilty of threatening to start a third world war, it is the Soviet regime, which is still active in trying to overthrow governments in the Western Hemisphere. The whole world has an acute interest, of course, in the effects of any conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. A direct threat, however, now has been made by the Soviet Government that it plans to engage in a world war even if the United States seeks merely to protect its own interests in this hemisphere.

World opinion could certainly be mobilized by a statement of all the facts showing what a dangerous step toward aggression was taken only a few months ago by the Soviet Union when its missiles were sent to Cuba. The Russian people themselves would understand the nature of the blunder made by their rulers if the facts were emphasized again and again so that they would inevitably penetrate the Iron Curtain.

Public opinion is a tremendously powerful factor in international affairs. It is the principal weapon of moral force. And when the facts can be convincingly presented to show exactly what the Soviets threatened to do in Cuba, it seems unfortunate that a "warning" such as the minister of defense made in Moscow last week is brushed aside and no public reply is made.

The U.S. Information Agency, which has the task of distributing America's story throughout the world, can hardly be blamed.

It is told what to say by the President or by the Secretary of State. If the official word is to ignore a speech such as Mr. Malinovsky made, the USIA will remain muzzled.

The mystery is why nothing has been said in rebuttal by any high official in the Government here. President Kennedy was at Palm Beach over the weekend, but he must have read the news dispatches. He could have set in motion the whole process of reply making. He could have taken cognizance of the Russian threat in a formal statement which might have given in detail the steps taken by the Soviet Union in the last few months that constitute a threat of world conflict.

Why wasn't anything said or done here? The only conclusion is that maybe the Adlai Stevenson philosophy still prevails. He said the other day in a speech in Chicago that he would not be surprised if Mr. Khrushchev ultimately removes his troops from Cuba as promised "unless we make it too embarrassing for him to back down again."

But the embarrassment is one-sided. While fear of offending the sensibilities of the men in the Kremlin seems to be part of the reasoning in Washington, no such fear of offending the United States appears to bother the Moscow government.

The Soviets have given the world a dramatic example of potential aggression. Maybe it was considered tactful to keep quiet about this for a few weeks during the crisis last October, but now that the Soviet Government through an official spokesman, the Minister of Defense, has voiced a threat of a third world war, it is difficult to understand why the Government here need remain silent.

Is the U.S. Government to be intimidated by such threats? Or will it proceed to denounce the Moscow statement and put the blame for any future conflict where it belongs—on the shoulders of the men who deliberately sent to Cuba missiles and bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons to the United States from the island, only 90 miles away from our southeastern shores? Congress might do better to debate the failure of the White House and State Department to put America's story across to the world than to spend so much time on internal bickering.

### District of Columbia School Counselors Overwhelmed by Work

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I have been asked by the American Personnel and Guidance Association to insert the following article from the Washington Post of February 17, 1963, representing many of the social problems facing guidance counselors throughout the country, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 17, 1963]  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOL COUNSELORS OVERWHELMED BY WORK—ONE SERVES 1,200 PUPILS

(By Susanna McBee)

Phoebe C. Beath arrived 15 minutes early the other day to her job as the only counselor for the 1,200 students at Washington's Hart Junior High School.



She had hardly removed her coat when a mother came in with a doctor's note saying her son had been diagnosed as having a schizoid personality.

Since the boy would be out of school several months, Mrs. Beath agreed to get advance assignments from his teachers and arrange for a visiting instructor to help him with homework.

After a few more phone calls and a conference with the school's mathematics coordinator, Mrs. Beath settled down to a routine day serving as combination health adviser, social worker, job finder, psychologist, tester, academic counselor, and friend to students with all sorts of problems.

She is one of the District schools' 83 counselors (including seven on temporary duty). The school system had requested 43 more to provide some in schools without any and others in schools such as Hart, where the pupil load is staggering. However, the President is requesting only six in his 1964 budget. The first student Mrs. Beath saw was a white boy named Peter. He had average ability but was in the basic, or lowest, track because of his poor reading.

Mrs. Beath told Peter, who had been fighting with another boy, that she had arranged for him to get additional reading instruction and that he should help his classmates maintain good behavior.

Next came Rachel, a Negro girl who is one of 160 Hart students receiving free lunches. Mrs. Beath had to fill out a form so that the schools would get reimbursed for the lunch.

In asking the name of the girl's mother and her social worker and how long her family had been on public assistance, Mrs. Beath discovered Rachel's speech was almost incomprehensible and that she had been arguing with her teacher.

The counselor made sure that Rachel would see a speech teacher and that she would try to control her temper.

"I don't handle the punishment end of discipline problems," Mrs. Beath told a reporter, "but I try to find their causes. We do need a social worker very much because she would be able to go to the home of our problem children. However, I contact the case workers for our children on public assistance."

Just then a small foreign student entered. She smiled shyly, revealing some distended front teeth. She told Mrs. Beath that the school dentist was going to remove the teeth.

When she left, Mrs. Beath explained that the Urban Service Corps had arranged for the girl's dental work. "She didn't ask for help," the counselor said. "I saw her in the cafeteria and she couldn't eat very well. She'll be pretty when her teeth are fixed."

It was 10:06 a.m. A tall Negro youth entered, and Mrs. Beath gave him a gray jacket. "It's a little short, but it's warmer than the one you had," she told him. The jacket came from the PTA clothes collection.

He left as the phone rang. It was a counselor from another school, and Mrs. Beath discussed how Hart is stepping up its anti-dropout program.

While she was talking, a white eighth grader named Phil entered. He was a high IQ but was not doing well in the honors track; so Mrs. Beath had placed him in the regular track. "I can do the work better now," he told her. After he left, she explained that the boy has no father and that she is trying to get a Kiwanis Club member to take an interest in him.

Another white boy, whom school officials termed "a potential scientific genius," sat down and discussed his failure in English and mathematics. He told Mrs. Beath his parents had agreed that he should go into the regular track for all subjects except science. "You can count on me to do better," he promised.

Just then a social worker from Junior Village came in with Janice, a 15-year-old Negro girl who would look only at the floor.

Janice, who wore a scarf around her head and who doodled on her book cover while the adults talked, had left school in October after refusing to talk to her classmates and teachers. A psychiatrist had recommended that she be given psychiatric treatment at District of Columbia General Hospital.

But for some reason Janice had not been admitted to the hospital, and Mrs. Beath had the difficult task of finding a place for her in school.

#### PROMISES HELP

"We're going to help you," she told Janice. "We're going to put you in a small class. A basic class is the best we can do. It has 30 pupils in it."

The social worker asked, "What do you call a big class?"

Janice kept her head down despite the social worker's pleas for her to answer Mrs. Beath's questions. Mrs. Beath called for two girls to get Janice's books and show her to her class.

The counselor said Janice would be taking art and music besides academic subjects.

"That'll be nice," said the social worker.

But Janice's doodling became more frenzied.

Then a girl came to take Janice to her class. She would not say hello to the girl. As she walked out, flanked by the girl and the social worker, Janice started to cry.

Mrs. Beath said Janice never knew her father and that her mother is ill and periodically deserted the girl. Janice has lived at Junior Village for several months.

It was 11 a.m. and time for Mrs. Beath's cafeteria duty. It was a time for exercise, too, as she soon found out. Since it was raining and the students could not play outside, they were more rambunctious than usual.

In less than an hour, she chased two boys who ran out of the cafeteria, tried to find out who punched another boy in the nose, stopped a fight in an aisle, blew her whistle at a boy who was trying to grab a girl's purse, and wrote down the names of four boys caught smoking by another teacher.

During her own lunch period, she described a multitude of other functions a counselor performs in a system where many schools are becoming so large that they seem like factories.

#### EMERGENCY BASIS

"I really operate on an emergency basis, seeing students mainly when they have problems," she said. When an addition at Hart is completed in 1964, the school will have 1,600 to 1,700 students.

After lunch she stopped by Janice's basic class. At last the girl spoke to her. "I don't like my class," she said. Later her teacher told Mrs. Beath that Janice had cried throughout the period.

That afternoon, between testing three students and discussing classroom problems with three others, Mrs. Beath called the schools' special services division about Janice. When she hung up, she said school officials plan to contact the District's Child Welfare Division and produce further evidence of Janice's need for psychiatric treatment.

Soon it was 3 p.m. She had given a boy who insisted on quitting school some material about jobs, had conferred with a visiting instructor, and had discussed several handicapped children at the Vocational Rehabilitation Center.

Then it was time to attend a meeting on how to improve students' reading ability. Afterward, there was more paperwork. Some of it she took home. The next day's work would require a lot of preparation.

## Public Service in Government

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the remarks of Anthony J. Celebrezze, distinguished Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, at a dinner held February 22, 1963, at the Woman's National Democratic Club.

Secretary Celebrezze has brought to Washington with him an outstanding record of public service and interest in Government. He has been characterized throughout his governmental service by not only efficiency but also by humanity.

His comments at that time are particularly appropriate to the vast problems in which the United States finds itself today. The remarks of Secretary Celebrezze appropriately reflect the need for a Government which not only is interested in economy but which is concerned with the intelligent and humane solutions of the multitude of problems facing our people today.

The address follows:

#### PUBLIC SERVICE IN GOVERNMENT

(Remarks by Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, at the dinner of the Woman's National Democratic Club, Washington, D.C., Friday, February 22, 1963)

I am pleased to note that this is a bipartisan occasion—the 231st anniversary of George Washington's birth. The Republicans customarily gather on Lincoln's Birthday, and we Democrats pay faithful annual tribute to the genius of Jefferson and Jackson. But Washington was a unique figure in American political annals. First in so many things, he bears the unusual distinction of being the first—and also the last—President to be elected outside the party system.

Politics was very much alive, of course, even under Washington's administration, and the two-party system that marks the structure of American politics was already in the making. It was in Washington's first term that Jefferson and Madison took their famous botanical expedition through the Northern States and planted the seeds of the great national party that is parent to our own. Since then, throughout the years, men and democracy have been tested by our politics, and time has proved the system worthy.

Some 80 years ago, the great English historian, James Bryce, comparing American politicians with their counterparts in Europe, described two categories of politicians—those of the "inner circle" and those of the "outer circle." What he found remarkable in America was that the membership of both the inner and outer circles was relatively larger here and, therefore, more representative than in most European states. Whereas in Europe the "inner circle"—the people who devoted their full time to politics—was made up of only a small number of individuals, usually men of independent means and aristocratic background, in America the profession of politics attracted thousands of people from all walks of life. And, more importantly, the American "outer

circle"—in which he placed all who work for the party without pay and without seeking office—he found, came nearer to including the whole country here than it did in England.

This is not the usual conception of the ins and outs in politics, but it is a refreshing one, and it is a mark of American democracy that we have reason to be proud of.

Politics has a special meaning for Americans. Some call it the science of government. Others, more poetically, call it the art of freedom. Pragmatists like to call it the art of the possible. But whatever you call it—by fair name or foul—it comes down finally to the act of responding individually to the obligations of self-government. And whether one counts oneself a member of the inner circle or the outer circle, every American is, or should be, a politician. Over the age of 21, everyone should be an active politician, letting his voice be heard at least through his vote.

I have found also that there are plenty of active politicians under the age of 21. I have been surprised and gratified by the number of letters I have been getting from schoolchildren. I like to get these letters. They don't tell me how to run the Department. They ask me what I do.

And from these younger citizens I sometimes get a pretty good idea of what's being taught in the schools around the country. I can say, for example, with a fair degree of accuracy, that during the past 6 weeks a lot of ninth graders have been studying the Cabinet, and I'm sure that a lot of class reports have been given on the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

This is as it should be, and I am glad that in this country schoolchildren can feel free to ask a member of the Cabinet just what it is that he does. I make a special effort to answer these letters because I feel a special obligation to these youngsters who will become the responsible politicians of tomorrow.

I am glad, too, that they care about the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In spite of our rather long and specific title, there is widespread misconception about what we do and how we do it. A lot of people don't realize, for example, that nearly 90 percent of the Department's appropriations are passed on to the States, educational and scientific institutions, and hospitals and individuals in the form of grants—for public assistance, for medical research, for aid to education, for water pollution control, and a host of other projects in which State, local, Federal, and nongovernmental energies and resources are combined to promote the general welfare.

Because the work of our Department directly affects the lives of so many millions of people in so many different ways, any single impression of HEW is bound to be colored as much by what is opinion as by what is fact.

One of my staff members tells about his 5-year-old daughter who asked him what his job was. He found it somewhat difficult to put this into 5-year-old terms, but he went on at some length about how the Department looks after all the people in the country—how we try to keep people from getting sick, how we try to protect the food they eat and the medicine they take, how we try to see that everyone has enough to eat, how we want to make sure that everyone has a chance to go to school. The child was visibly impressed. A few days later the father overheard his daughter telling another child, "My daddy's better than your daddy—he takes care of everybody, just like God."

Unfortunately, like the 5-year-old, too many grownups share that mistaken impression. At one extreme are the anti-Federal forces who oppose all national programs in health, education, and welfare. Their view is that we have gone too far in the caretak-

ing role. At the other extreme are the absolute paternalists who think we are not fatherly enough.

Both extremes, I think, have a narrow, cramped view of the needs and problems of our society. One clings to an ideal that may have been possible in a simpler, bygone age—the belief that each of us can stand entirely alone. But today, in a world that is changed by fantastic advances in science and technology, such a belief is as obsolete as the Pony Express.

The "let-the-Government-do-everything" school is equally shortsighted. Its followers show too little faith in the ability of man to adapt to new conditions, to meet new challenges. In their rush to take care of all his material needs, they forget his most basic need for self-respect and self-reliance and would rob him of the great happiness—the intense personal satisfaction—that comes from independence, growth, and achievement.

Neither approach would benefit society. With one we would flounder; with the other we would grow flabby. But between the two there is a path that will lead to social progress—a way that would sacrifice neither security nor independence—a way that would enhance both the dignity of the individual and the strength of the Nation.

And it is this path that the Kennedy administration is following.

In public welfare, for example our goal is to provide opportunities for independence to all who need them. For youth and adults who are handicapped by lack of education, by physical or mental disabilities, by social and economic pressures beyond their control, the dole is being exchanged for a bootstrap, so that they can help themselves.

We are also examining the causes of dependency and are looking for ways to cure or prevent them. Disease and poverty, ignorance and idleness are social ills that—like cancer—will respond to treatment if caught in time.

Our experiences over the past quarter of a century have amply demonstrated the soundness of the social security approach to establishing a floor of economic independence for people beyond their working years. When this independence is threatened by the high cost of hospital and related health care—as it is today—we feel it is time to add another plank to social security, to give people the means of insuring themselves against the pauperism that can quickly result from the heavy expenses of illness in the later years of life. This would not intrude upon individual freedom and dignity. Instead, it would make them possible.

The inadequacies of education, at a time when we are confronted with increasing demands for a more broadly and more highly educated population, have brought us face to face with a national crisis of major proportions.

Here, while respecting the prerogative of the States and local communities to control the education of our youth, we have proposed Federal assistance to selected areas of need where it is most appropriate and where it can be most useful.

We can no longer ignore the need for emergency classroom construction and aid to teachers' salaries in the public schools, for revitalized vocational education programs, for broadened opportunities in higher education, for expanded college facilities, for improving the quality of teaching, for meeting the special needs of handicapped children, and for expanded opportunities for adult education. These are among the nationwide needs which the Federal Government can properly help to meet. Indeed, it will be failing in its responsibility if it does not come forward to meet them.

And there are still other national problems that are waiting solution. There is mental retardation which needlessly blights the lives of millions of Americans. There

is the problem of accidents which are the leading cause of death for young people up to the age of 35. There are the costly and debilitating problems of alcoholism and drug addiction which strike alike at rich and poor and have too long been shrouded with mystery and misunderstanding. There is the matter of air pollution and the harmful effects of manmade chemicals on man himself and his environment.

These are problems which George Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Hamilton could scarcely foresee. Yet they saw the need for a national government that would be strong enough to withstand the strain which accompanies any real progress—a government which would be strong enough to protect the whole body of the people—one that would be able to promote the general welfare without threat to individual freedom.

To be sure, the National Government cannot do these things alone. Nor was it ever intended that it should. We are a pluralistic society, a government of, by, and for the people, and all of us share in the responsibility of keeping our Nation free and strong.

But the stimulus for social progress must rise from each one of us as responsible individuals. It must come from our public conscience. It must respond to public needs. It must pull together our multiple resources and convert them into action.

The big job ahead is a job for all of us—every individual, every level of government, labor, management, professional organizations, welfare and civic groups, the technicians, and the man on the street.

Most basically, it is a job for politics—for the inner circle and the outer circle—because nothing at all will happen if we sit still.

We can't afford to sit still, and we don't intend to sit still. The past, for all its grandeur, is behind us. The present—tomorrow—will slip into the past. From the past and the present we must mold the future. We are responsible for its shape, its condition, and the promises that it holds for all mankind.

It is the job of politics to anticipate the future, to seek out opportunities for progress and to propel the Nation forward.

It is the job of politics to resolve the differences that divide and tend to immobilize us.

It is the job of politics to convert ideas into energy and energy into action, so that progress is possible and the future can be secure.

Politics, in turn, is led by parties, each of which has chosen a different path to the future.

Today, we know where we are going, and, with your help and the help of millions of others throughout the country, we will get there. We have purpose, we have energy, we have leadership.

These are three of the essential elements of progress, but there is still a fourth, and that is action.

When we can galvanize our forces into action, only then can we say that we, as a party, and we, as politicians, and as citizens have fulfilled our responsibilities to the Nation—and to ourselves.

I am confident that we will not be found remiss.

### Communist Threat in Latin America

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure all the Members of the House share

my concern regarding reports that the arms and troops sent to Cuba by the Russians will be used to bring other Latin American nations into the Communist fold. I think we also agree that the United States cannot tolerate this situation.

It is doubtful that we realize just how serious this problem is at the present time, but there are people who have firsthand information regarding the ways in which Castro is working to achieve his objective. The words of these informed officials should be carefully considered by all of us now—before it is too late.

The Baltimore Afro-American and the Baltimore Sun reporters have had personal interviews with such an enlightened official of Haiti, Dr. Roger Rigaud. Under unanimous consent, I include these articles at this point in the RECORD and urge all Members of the House to carefully consider Dr. Rigaud's timely warnings:

[From the Baltimore Sun, Feb. 25, 1963]

#### U.S. AID ASKED IN OUSTER OF HAITI REGIME

An exiled Haitian political leader last night called for U.S. aid in toppling his country's dictatorship, but said that strong organization is needed to insure the birth of a democratic government.

Dr. Roger Rigaud, a former member of the Haitian Cabinet who was in Baltimore visiting friends, said in an interview that native Haitians are now being trained in Cuba and sent to their homeland to prepare for a leftist takeover.

Dr. Rigaud asserted that there are enough pro-Western leaders in and outside Haiti to form a democratic government, "but we have to organize."

#### COLLAPSE REPORTED NEAR

Recent reports from the island nation have suggested the 5-year dictatorship of President Francois Duvalier is about to collapse, and that Duvalier may leave the island this spring.

Dr. Rigaud, who has been in exile in the United States since 1958, was not confident that the Duvalier regime will fall so quickly under present circumstances.

But he indicated that "it will collapse without American foreign aid \* \* \* once we are organized."

"The United States has given \$40 million in aid to Haiti since Duvalier took power," he said.

"But the State Department people who have helped Duvalier for so long do not want to recognize \* \* \* that he is a man without allegiance to Western ideals."

#### TRAINING 70,000

Dr. Rigaud said Cuba is training some of the 70,000 Haitians that now live on the Communist island, to facilitate a leftist takeover in Haiti.

"These people, or their parents, went to Cuba in 1924, when unemployment was high in Haiti," he explained.

"I saw some of them in 1955. They all speak Creole (the native language of Haiti), and many still have relatives in Haiti, whom they can return to as agents."

"These are the people Castro is training and sending into Haiti to organize leftist support," he asserted.

"And the peasants, who have no education, are easily swayed. That is why we must be strongly organized."

Dr. Rigaud went on to describe President Duvalier as an orphan of the Communist bloc, full of Marxist-Leninist ideals without opportunity to express his views.

The paradox of Communist Cuba subverting a government headed by a dictator who

secretly is a Communist, was explained by Dr. Rigaud in the following manner:

"He could not stay in power without foreign aid and Moscow apparently was not willing to invest heavily in a country without any advanced industry."

#### NOTHING TO TAKE OVER

"Russian technicians could take over the operation of Cuba's industry. In Haiti there is nothing to take over. We are an agricultural nation."

"So Duvalier did not proclaim his views, and turned to the United States for aid, just as Castro did in the beginning," he said.

However, he continued, Moscow is willing to see a Marxist-Leninist regime established in Haiti "through Cuba \* \* \* by native cadres trained to build communism" in a primitive country in the process of developing.

These cadres would gain the Russians another foothold in the Caribbean without the political or economic price of direct involvement, he said.

[From the Baltimore Afro-American, Jan. 19, 1963]

#### HAITI SEEN AS NEXT CASTRO TROUBLE SPOT (By George W. Collins)

Haiti is destined to become the next stronghold of Castro communism in the Caribbean, a former Haitian government official in exile predicted here last week.

Dr. Roger Rigaud, 49, leader of the Haitian Nationalist, underground movement, made the prediction while promising to overthrow the regime of President Francois Duvalier, dictator of the island country.

"Duvalier will be destroyed," Dr. Rigaud vowed. "Of this I have no doubt. But what worries me is whether the underground will beat Castro to it."

In an interview with the Afro while visiting Baltimore last week, Dr. Rigaud said many of the 70,000 Haitians now naturalized as Cuban citizens, are returning to Haiti.

They are blindly loyal to Premier Fidel Castro and are dedicated to the proposition of delivering Haiti into the hands of the bearded dictator, the rebel leader declared.

His countrymen were attracted to Cuba by the sugarcane boon, which gave the man opportunity to "at least" earn bread, "something they didn't get under Duvalier," Dr. Rigaud added.

"To them Castro is their savior and they will do anything he wants them to," the former Cabinet minister went on.

President Duvalier, who ascended to power in 1957 when former President Paul E. Magloire was ousted, is an unwitting partner to the Communist takeover, according to Dr. Rigaud.

"He already has lead country to ruin. The economy has completely collapsed. All technicians have fled the country just as most former Government officials."

"Illiteracy, poverty, and corruption are all that's left of once great land," the underground leader said, shaking his head.

"Now Duvalier is giving it to the Communists," he added.

The President and tyrant, has appointed known Reds in key Government positions, Dr. Rigaud said.

They are Jules Blanche and Henve Boyer, Budget Chief and Minister of Finance, respectively, according to the freedom fighter.

U.S. Ambassador to Haiti, Raymond Thruson, confirmed this last month when he announced that President Duvalier has known Communists in his Cabinet.

Dr. Rigaud declared that Mr. Duvalier and Premier Castro are close friends and have been since the former entered a secret agreement with the Cuban dictator following an equally secret visit to Cuba last year.

Castro's brother Raul spent a week in

Haiti laying the groundwork for the Red coup, Dr. Rigaud declared.

Dr. Rigaud, who has lived in exile since 1957, said there is only one way to save his country from the hands of the Communists—that the underground rebellion must succeed.

Dr. Rigaud has been selected as official spokesman for the movement and has traveled extensively, spreading propaganda and soliciting support. He says the movement now is more popular than ever.

He's a graduate of St. Louis DeGonzaga University where he said he earned his undergraduate degree and his master and doctor degrees from the university's schools of law and commerce.

While seeking aid and support in this area, Dr. Rigaud also was interviewed by Lou Corbin of WFBR radio, which broadcast his views on its "Issues in the Air" program twice Sunday.

Dr. Rigaud said President Duvalier has squandered U.S. aid and has designated himself as President each time an election was scheduled to be held.

"He has corrupted the army, police, and all other agencies of government to the point where a few soldiers and key officials can live in luxury while most Haitians can hardly earn \$5 per year," Dr. Rigaud declared bitterly.

The rebel leader predicted that "there will be bloodshed in Haiti by next May." That's when elections are scheduled he said, and the Nationalists are planning the revolution to coincide with the election.

"We have no choice," he said, "and if we don't succeed, the Communists will."

After leaving the Haitian Army as a lieutenant in 1937, Dr. Rigaud said he held several Government posts before being forced into exile.

From 1942 until 1952, he served as general secretary of the National Defense and Interior Departments, prefect (equivalent to governor), Inspector General of Border Frontier, General Inspector of Legation and Consulates, Minister of the Departments of Interior and Defense and delegate, he reported. His family is still in Haiti.

A committee of Haitian underground leaders was formed in this area last week, he said, and is made up of freedom fighters in exile here and other countries.

## Kennedy Policies Hurt Economy

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence from the Washington Evening Star of February 18, 1963: **KENNEDY POLICIES HURT ECONOMY—PLANNED BUDGET DEFICIT, TAX REFORMS SEEN CAUSING UNCERTAINTY IN BUSINESS** (By David Lawrence)

President Kennedy has just told the country that his tax proposals must be adopted by Congress to prevent a recession. But, due largely to psychological factors, the recession has already begun. The only question now is how deep it is going to get and how long it will last.

The recession started when the President announced that he was deliberately planning a budget deficit in addition to the deficit al-



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ready being incurred. Momentum was added when the President declared that, coincidentally, taxes would be raised by so-called reforms and that the reduction in tax rates would be spread over 3 years.

This combination of giving and then taking away much of what is given frightened business, especially since there was no sign of any policy to stop the spending spree of the Government. Projects that could readily be postponed—new appropriations—were urged just the same by the President, irrespective of their impact on the fiscal condition of the country.

Today labor calls the tax program inadequate. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce favors a tax cut but insists on a reduction in Government spending as well. Economists are nervous. Investors are cautious.

Tax changes of major proportions involving a planned deficit are similar to a surgical operation. Sometimes the patient gets worse and sometimes he recovers. But nobody ever plans an operation on the body that he really doesn't need—or a deficit that he can't afford.

A tax cut by itself would be a stimulus to business. But if unaccompanied by corresponding savings of a substantial amount in the budget, it causes fear of inflation. This means upward price changes and instability due to a decline in the purchasing power of the dollar.

What has happened in the last 30 days is that, upon reading the President's tax proposals, business became confused. Uncertainty developed. Hesitation is an inevitable sequel. Only those expenditures in which commitments have already been made are carried out. Anything that can be deferred is postponed indefinitely. A wait-and-see attitude ensues. Business doesn't usually operate on a 3-year basis, and neither do most individuals. It's the 10 or 12 months ahead that constitute the main horizon.

Tax cuts are always helpful, but they can be ruinous to the fiscal soundness of the Nation unless expenses are cut, too. It may be puritanic, as one of Mr. Kennedy's advisers termed it, to balance the budget, but the American people want to see a trend in that direction instead of away from it.

The President often asks critics for alternatives. A program of tax cuts plus a program of economies in spending appears to be the only answer to Mr. Kennedy's dilemma. Tax reforms should be postponed. Most important of all now is the necessity for the administration to recognize the danger and meet it at once before the recession intensifies.

A persuasive example of how dangerous tax reform can be is already available. The Democratic Party in Congress is just as much responsible for the blunder in this case as is the President. Carelessly and without weighing the consequences, Congress passed the new law on expense-account deductions, phrased in vague language. The Treasury has recently interpreted these vague phrases, and this has brought depression in the restaurant and hotel business. But, it will be said, that's a small part of the economy. The facts, however, prove how short-sighted such a view can be.

For over the week end Clyde Davis, president of the Chicago Livestock Exchange, made a speech in Chicago declaring that cattle prices have suffered their worst setback in years. He said a wide combination of developments has hit the cattle and beef market almost simultaneously in the last 8 months. The dock strike hurt, too. Foreign beef came in last year at a record-breaking pace. Finally tax rulings curbed business dinners and entertainment expenses in business, which in turn caused a cut in the buying of top beef by some of the higher-priced restaurants and hotels. It was the straw that broke the cattle market's back. Mr. Davis said:

"The tax ruling on expense accounts makes it more difficult to wine and dine customers. This development is becoming a more important factor in the depressed beef markets."

Certainly cheating on expense accounts is reprehensible, but the Government ought surely to be able to catch up with fraud without penalizing innocent citizens and injuring the cattle business, the hotel business, the restaurant business, and related trades and industries.

This is but one illustration. Already churches, colleges, and other charitable institutions are worried about contributions because of the 5 percent floor on individual tax deductions. Far from stimulating consumer spending, the administration's program may cause the citizen to stop some of his spending.

To keep the people uncertain about tax rates and reforms proposals, the quicker the new recession will end. There is time enough in periods of prosperity to make reforms. What is immediately urgent is to stop the new recession in its tracks."

Plain Talk on Cuba

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the importance of restoring freedom to the Cuban people, I would like to emphasize the value of the service performed by the Reverend Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, associate editor of *World Affairs*. This Maryland educator, author, and diplomat was the first university professor to identify the Castro brothers, Fidel and Raúl, for what they were and are. In other words, while many other intellectuals were loud in their applause for Fidel and Raúl Castro, Dr. Thorning was recording the facts about their background and previous record.

Moreover, on September 26, 1962, when many U.S. officials were unaware of what was transpiring in Fidel Castro's Cuba, Dr. Thorning gave an address in the Visitation Academy, Frederick, in which he clearly outlined the status of Cuba as "a stationary aircraft carrier for Red fascism." The Maryland priest-scholar added that Chairman Nikita Khrushchev, "upon consolidation of his empire in Cuba," would be "threatening to unleash thermonuclear annihilation upon the White House and State Department."

More than 2 years ago, Dr. Thorning called for the recognition of a Cuban Government-in-exile and a courageous decision to halt Soviet tankers on the high seas. It is his judgment that, sooner or later, the dangers inherent in a program of rhetoric, rather than action, must be faced. He is confident that Fidel Castro's Cuba, situated on the periphery of Mr. Khrushchev's Soviet empire, is too far away and too difficult to defend for the Kremlin bosses to risk everything gained in the past 40 years. Without oil and other petroleum products, the whole economy of Castro's Cuba is bound to grind to a halt.

On October 20, 1962, 2 days before President John F. Kennedy delivered his speech on the Cuban situation, *Human Events*, a Washington newsletter, quoted the following statement by Dr. Thorning:

Castro's Cuba is a missile and rocket base for the ever-expanding Soviet empire. Now it is time to consider any and all measures that can stop the flow of Soviet oil into the Soviet-armed camp immediately off our shores.

He added:

To talk about the difference between defensive and offensive weapons in the current crisis is to forget that threats, backed by armed might, are an essential element in Soviet conquest.

On October 21, 1962, the *Register System* of Newspapers, with headquarters in Denver, Colo., carried Dr. Thorning's advice in its national edition. The editorial, captioned "Plain Talk on Cuba," reads as follows:

PLAIN TALK ON CUBA

The Reverend Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, who predicted the abortive Communist putsch in Guatemala in 1954, months before it happened, was one of the few students of inter-American affairs never fooled by Castro, and who predicted Red Chinese intervention in Cuba, declared in a recent address that "White House and State Department officials must seize the initiative within the next 6 months or else accept the status of second-rate factors in the life-and-death struggle now taking place on a global scale."

The Maryland educator, who knows his history as few commentators do, made this telling point:

Cuba is a missile and rocket base for the ever-expanding Soviet Empire. Hitler never dared to move into the Caribbean except with Nazi submarines. Thanks to our own airbases in Cuba, Hitler's undersea raiders were sunk within sight of the Florida coast.

"Now it is time to consider any and all measures that can stop the flow of Soviet oil into the Soviet armed camp immediately off our shores. In another 6 months, Nikita Khrushchev, upon consolidation of his empire in Cuba, will be threatening to unleash thermonuclear annihilation upon the White House and State Department unless we agree to internationalize the Panama Canal. The dilemma our policymakers face is clear. Either continue a program of withdrawal, retreat, and eventual surrender of vital positions; or advance upon the Cuban spearhead of Soviet aggression."

Father Thorning, who has yet to be proved wrong, believes that a courageous decision to halt Soviet tankers on the high seas, even as we halted Nazi ships even before our declaration of war on Germany, will prove to all the world that Khrushchev's challenge has been understood and accepted. "Sooner or later, the dangers inherent in a program of action, rather than rhetoric, must be faced."

To this we add that we know what mere rhetoric cannot do. It cannot save Cuba. The law of self-defense is the natural law, the law of God.

The Result of Lavish Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 28, 1963

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to



this area involving discrimination in connection with Government contracts, in the great complex where the Government cooperates with private industry and universities to forward the defense of America. This is the area we propose to do something about.

May I say that I have no intention of being partisan on this issue, and I hope we will not force ourselves into a partisan angle, but it is difficult to remain silent in view of statements made in this message.

Mr. McCULLOCH. I interrupt the gentleman from New York to say in view of the fact some 80 or 90 new Federal judges have been appointed, the court calendars in most of the Federal district courts should be kept current.

Mr. LINDSAY. I thank the gentleman.

(Mr. LINDSAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I, too, want to compliment the gentleman from Ohio for his many contributions throughout the years to the solution of the problems in the field of civil rights.

I note on page 6 of the message of the President these words:

Beginning in September of this year, under the aid-to-impacted-area school program, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will initiate a program of providing on-base facilities so that children living on military installations will no longer be required to attend segregated schools at Federal expense.

My question to the gentleman from Ohio is this: There is nothing in the bill which the gentleman and other Republican Members introduced that would perpetuate school segregation by building integrated schools on military installations?

Mr. McCULLOCH. Of course not. I am happy that question has been asked, in view of the language in the President's message.

Mr. SHRIVER. Would not such a plan result in actually rewarding local school districts for noncompliance with our Constitution?

Mr. McCULLOCH. Yes, it would. I think those who joined in introducing the bill of the minority, would have no part in such proposals.

Mr. SHRIVER. Is it the gentleman's understanding that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is very much against this proposition?

Mr. McCULLOCH. That is my understanding.

Mr. SHRIVER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I should like to most sincerely commend the distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr.

McCULLOCH] as well as the gentlemen who have participated with him in this discussion of the merits of the civil rights legislation introduced by many of us last month, and the lack of merit in the President's message given to the Congress today.

In noting the superficial nature of the proposals contained in the Presidential message, the thought occurs to the gentleman from Minnesota that there must be some understanding between powerful congressional Members of the President's party and the drafters of this message; how else does one account for the serious deficiencies and oversights in the legislation requested by the White House? For example, there is nothing in the Presidential message calling for added legislative tools to eliminate discrimination in employment opportunities.

I cannot let this day go by without suggesting that considerations of political expediency, and the plans going forward for the 1964 campaign, have been more evident in the content of this message than the expected sincere desire to advance the cause of civil rights in America.

(Mr. MACGREGOR asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

At this point I would like to comment upon a statement that was made by my colleague from New York who said that he hoped legislation in this field would not take on partisan political attributes. I, too, hope that there is no partisanship in the consideration of this legislation either in committee or on the floor of the House or in the other body.

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCULLOCH. I am pleased to yield to my good friend from Iowa [Mr. BROMWELL].

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, let me join my colleagues here in congratulating the gentleman from Ohio in his anticipation of sound civil rights legislation over a month ago in the introduction of a sound civil rights bill.

Appropos the most recent remark of the gentleman about partisan political considerations I, too, am in hopes that partisanship can be avoided and that a sound bill will be enacted very swiftly. Here is a situation where all that is needed is a minority of the majority to put good civil rights legislation on the books. I think the expression has been made abundantly in this session from this side of the aisle, that the only thing that is needed for some decent legislation is cooperation from the other side. I would, however, like to make one statement, which I cannot forbear making—I made it substantially a month ago when the civil rights bills were introduced from this side of the aisle—and it is brought to mind by the reference to the poll tax amendment in the message we received today. I think that it cannot be pointed out too often to the people of the United States, or too vigorously, that the poll tax amend-

ment is a glittering political fraud, that no one has so far voted because of its adoption after a full 40 minutes of debate in this House, that no one has yet voted; 13 States have ratified and we have some 25 to go and when they get done, it is still a question whether anybody will vote, because it applies only to Federal elections and Federal officers, who are on the same ballot with State officials, to vote for which poll taxes have to be paid. I think we should deemphasize the poll tax amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH] has expired.

(Mr. McCULLOCH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

### CUBA SITUATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of the Congress, I have refrained from taking the time of the Members of this House until today. I would have hoped that the occasion of my first remarks could have been one of less urgency and of less danger to this Nation than the increasingly critical problem of Cuba.

As many Members of the House, I have been anxiously hoping that the administration would, after weighing all of the various alternatives, assume the advantage we seemingly held some months ago and have since lost, by stepping forward in a capacity of leadership, and, with the cooperation of the other nations in this hemisphere to the greatest extent possible, by undertaking a positive course of action aimed at preventing the strengthening of the Castro regime, stopping the further spread of communism from Cuba to other nations of this hemisphere, and hopefully accelerating the eventual elimination of communism from Cuba. Regrettably, this has not happened.

Personally, as serious as these questions may be, I have been less concerned of late with debating the exact number of missiles or Communist troops remaining in Cuba, or the often obscure distinction between offensive and defensive weapons, or even the exact meaning of a so-called bipartisan foreign policy, than with the very real danger which Cuba represents to this hemisphere as a training ground and stepping off point for Communist guerrillas, saboteurs, and infiltrators. Certainly, recent developments in Brazil dramatize this problem. We cannot tolerate four or five South Vietnams in this hemisphere.

I rise today to call to the attention of my colleagues some shocking facts concerning the dramatically increased trade between Cuba and Communist-bloc na-

tions, particularly Red China, and to point out that much of this cargo, which serves to strengthen the Castro regime in Cuba and to assist Cuba in its subversive activities, is being moved through our own Panama Canal.

The 1962 annual report of the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company states on page 8:

The volume of cargo moving through the canal to Red China in 1962 totaled 877,000 long tons, for an increase of 600 percent, and movements to Russia totaled 344,000 long tons, for an increase of 48 percent.

While this is shocking to me, it apparently is not of great concern to the administration, in that the president of the Panama Canal Company, and, incidentally, the Company is a corporate agency and instrumentality of the Government of the United States, stated in his 1962 letter to the stockholder—the stockholder being the Honorable Cyrus Vance, Secretary of the Army:

It is gratifying to report that a record volume of traffic moved through the Panama Canal last year, reflecting the canal's expanding role of world oceanborne commerce.

I, for one, do not consider an increase of 600 percent in cargo movements to Red China through the Panama Canal gratifying. The report points out that sugar movements from Cuba accounted for a major portion of the increased combined tonnage to Red China and Russia through the canal. The report goes on to say:

Thus, cargo movements during 1962 marked another year in the continued phenomenal growth in world traffic since World War II.

Mr. Speaker, I am writing today to the President of the United States, expressing my concern and asking a series of four questions regarding the advisability of the United States extending the recently announced policy of denying the use of U.S. ports to ships trading with Cuba to include the ports at either end of the Panama Canal. I wish to insert my letter to the President in the Record at this point:

FEBRUARY 28, 1963.

THE PRESIDENT,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am deeply concerned by the dramatically increased cargo movements through the Panama Canal to Red China during 1962 as reported in the 1962 Annual Report of the Panama Canal Company. Certainly the restrictions which the United States has imposed on trade with Cuba represent an attempt by this country to weaken the Castro regime. This obviously is and must be our goal. In that the increased trade between Communist-bloc nations and Cuba is defeating this goal, it seems obvious that serious consideration should be given to the possibility of a move by the United States to deny the use of the Panama Canal to all ships carrying cargo into and out of Communist Cuba.

In the event that existing treaties and international agreements prevent such action, it would further seem feasible that this Nation give immediate consideration to the possibility of a revision of the treaties and international agreements involved to adapt them to the cold war being fought in this hemisphere in 1963.

The danger of the establishment of a Communist dictatorship on the continent

of South America which is posed by the continued exportation of communism from Cuba to the continent is serious. Today the Panama Canal could serve as an effective tool in preventing the strengthening of the Castro regime and the further spread of communism to the continent. At the point where a Communist dictatorship is established on the continent of South America, control of the Panama Canal will cease in large measure to be an effective tool in preventing the further spread of communism.

For your consideration and response, I am attaching a series of four questions which are of grave concern to me. I will look forward to your early reply.

Sincerely,

DONALD RUMSFELD,  
Member of Congress.

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED

1. Would existing U.S. treaties and/or international agreements permit a move by the United States to deny the use of the Panama Canal to ships carrying cargo into and out of Cuba?

2. What are the restrictions contained in the recent administration statement limiting the use of "American ports" under certain circumstances by certain vessels?

3. Could the facilities, whether they be called harbors, ports, or entrances at both ends of the Panama Canal be considered American ports for the purposes of international agreements, treaties, and the recently established policy referred to above?

4. Since the rise of the Castro regime in Cuba, the United States has taken various steps to weaken that regime including restrictions on trade between this country and Communist Cuba. To offset the desired harmful effects on the Cuban economy as the result of these U.S. actions, the Communist bloc nations, particularly Red China, have substantially increased their trading activities with Cuba. In view of these facts and in view of the events in the past 5 months, would it not be appropriate for this Nation to impose a restriction on the use of the Panama Canal by any ships carrying cargo to or from Cuba?

Problems are not solved by pretending that they do not exist. Certainly the continued delay in commencing a coordinated hemispheric action will reduce our chances for success in stemming the tide of world communism. Once the Communists have established a firm beachhead on the continent of South America, we will have lost the advantage which our control of the Panama Canal today represents and with it the opportunity to prevent the continued spread of communism throughout this hemisphere. Today, the Panama Canal can be an effective tool against communism; tomorrow, it may not.

To my knowledge, this question was first raised in two articles appearing in the Chicago Sun-Times during the past week. For the benefit of those who share my concern, I wish to insert the following articles from the Chicago Sun-Times in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks: A syndicated column by Milburn P. Akers, of Friday, February 22, an editorial advocating that this Nation deny the use of the Panama Canal to all ships carrying cargo into and out of Communist Cuba, of February 22. The syndicated column of Milburn P. Akers which I understand has been distributed for publication in the Chicago Sun-Times on March 1, also deals with this problem and I intend to insert it in the Record as soon as copies are available.

I wish to point out that our policy of denying the use of U.S. ports, or even a step to deny the use of the Panama Canal to Communist vessels engaged in trade with Cuba, will not solve the problem, in that a major portion of these cargoes move on vessels flying non-Communist flags.

Mr. Speaker, I am not suggesting an invasion of Cuba; I am not suggesting a full blockade of Cuba; I am not rattling sabers; rather, I am urging the administration to take cognizance of this dramatically increased Communist trade through the Panama Canal. I am requesting and urging that the appropriate committee of the House of Representatives conduct an investigation as to the advisability of a move by the United States to deny the use of the Panama Canal to all ships carrying cargo into and out of Cuba. If under existing treaties and international agreements this cannot be accomplished, and I fully appreciate that there are obstacles including treaties with both Panama and Great Britain, I am asking that consideration be given to prompt revision of these treaties or agreements to adapt them to cope with the cold war we are fighting in this hemisphere in 1963. Certainly if such course of action is deemed advisable, the necessary changes could be accomplished. If at the conclusion of these studies it is the decision of the House to express to the President the sense of the House that these or similar steps be taken, I strongly urge that every effort be made to encourage the cooperation of the other nations of this hemisphere through the Organization of American States.

I wish also to include at the conclusion of my remarks pages 4, 5, and 6 from the 1962 Panama Canal annual report of the board of directors:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Feb. 22, 1963]

(By Milburn P. Akers)

Total isolation of Fidel Castro's Cuba by the remaining Western Hemisphere nations has been proposed by President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela.

This step, effectively enforced, would help. But it isn't enough. Cuba should be isolated by the entire free world. So long as the Castro regime remains in power, Cuba's potential for mischief, or worse, remains.

The United States risked atomic war to force Soviet Russia to withdraw its missiles. It is now treading on risky ground in efforts to bring about the removal of remaining Soviet troops. Even after these troops are removed, as they probably will be shortly, Cuba under Castro remains as a threat—a threat not so much to the United States, which if need be, can overrun Cuba at will, but to Latin America generally.

Cuba is being used as a training ground for saboteurs, guerrillas and other varlets of Communist troublemakers from various Latin American nations. If that is permitted to continue, the United States, sooner or later, will be fighting many dirty, little wars in Latin America as it is now doing in South Vietnam. Twelve thousand American soldiers and much equipment are now employed in South Vietnam in the effort to eradicate relatively small bands of Viet Cong, that nation's equivalent of Communist guerrillas. The United States is spending a minimum of \$500 million annually in this effort alone.

Do we want to do the same thing in half a dozen or more Latin American nations?

Ridding Cuba of Soviet missiles and troops isn't enough. Castro and the Communist regime on that island are the real culprits. The missiles and troops wouldn't have been in Cuba except for Castro and his regime. They were brought into Cuba surreptitiously in the first place. They can be returned in the same manner so long as Cuba has a Communist government.

Neither the Kennedy administration nor most of its Republican opposition is taking or advocating those steps, short of invasion, which would eradicate the infection at its source. Total isolation of Cuba by the free world might do the job.

Total isolation would mean that no citizen of the free world would be permitted to travel to Cuba; that no person, company, or cartel would engage in any kind of traffic whatsoever with Cuba.

Various nations whose own security is totally dependent upon the atomic capability of the United States hesitated or refused to ban commerce with Cuba previously. Even the United States hasn't sought to plug all Cuban supply sources in this country. The Kennedy administration acted courageously and effectively in forcing Soviet Russia to remove its missiles. Otherwise its course insofar as Cuba is concerned has been one of timidity, expediency and sheer bubble-headedness.

So long as the United States itself fails to follow policies resulting in an effective total ban on all commerce and travel with Cuba by American citizens and American companies, other free world countries cannot be expected to do so.

Once the United States has instituted such policies most others in the Western Hemisphere can be expected to follow suit. Once the Western Hemisphere has demonstrated it is taking effective steps to rid Cuba of its Communist regime other nations in the free world may do likewise.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the Communist planners, having a foothold in Cuba, intend to use it as a training ground for hordes of guerrillas and saboteurs who will turn many Latin American nations into South Vietnams. Our experience in South Vietnam demonstrates the difficulties such guerrilla bands can create as well as the cost, both in lives and in money, in efforts to rid a nation of them.

It was good to rid Cuba of Soviet missiles. It will be good to rid Cuba of Soviet troops. It will be even better to rid Cuba of Castro and his Communist regime. Without them, there could have been neither Soviet missiles nor troops. With them, we are constantly confronted with a possible return. And with them, we are confronted with the possibility of many dirty, little wars throughout Latin America.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Feb. 26, 1963]

#### TAKE OFF THE GLOVES

Sixty-two Americans have been killed in the abortive fighting in Vietnam. The latest to die is a U.S. Army machinegunner who was killed when two Army helicopters were downed by ground fire while they were carrying out a medical evacuation mission 100 miles east of Saigon.

To check this mounting casualty list an order has been given to allow our troops to open fire first, "in some cases." The criterion is that the American soldier must pick for a target a "positively identified" guerrilla.

This is a specious order. It is inconceivable that a trained Army machinegunner, sitting exposed and naked to ground fire in the open door of a helicopter, would wait to be fired upon before he opened fire. If he did not immediately rake any enemy area where he detected movement before he was

fired upon he would not be worthy of the training he had received. Death is as final to a soldier in a political action as it is in a formally declared war.

The relaxing of the "rules of engagement" (State Department terminology for as yet undeclared warfare) does have a major significance, however.

We have now declared war in Vietnam. Our troops can fire as soon as they identify armed guerrillas as the target. This is war; pure and simple. The line has been drawn in the dust with the heavy toe of a military boot. If you see the enemy—shoot to kill.

There has been an overabundance of political falderal and shilly-shallying in Vietnam and other areas. We are not at war, but our troops have been shooting at an "enemy." We are not at war, but the survivors of those killed in action in Vietnam have been accorded full survivor's benefits consistent with those awarded during a formal conflict.

Now we must buckle down to the difficult and onerous task of driving the enemy—and there is only one enemy, communism—out of southeast Asia.

As a matter of cold fact, it is high time we take off our velvet gloves and stop worrying about offending Russia. The Russian troops in Cuba must go, whether they go in response to a formal protest from our State Department (and no such protest has yet been lodged, so far as anyone knows) or whether they go because we threaten to drive them out.

In Cuba the Red cancer grows. Now Senator DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, normally a careful and precise man in his public utterances of import, says that four Americans died in invasion aircraft during the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

It is not known, yet, whether these four men were members of our military forces. The management of news about Cuba has been shocking and calloused beyond recall. It does not matter a great deal—they were Americans and Senator DIRKSEN takes proper umbrage in protesting the remark of Senator JOHN STENNIS, Democrat, of Mississippi, that the Bay of Pigs affair is "spilled milk."

Cuba must be isolated and removed as a mounting platform for armed subversion of Latin America. As Milburn P. Akers, editor of the Sun-Times, noted in his column Friday: "Communist planners, having a foothold in Cuba, intend to use it as a training ground for hordes of guerrillas and saboteurs who will turn many Latin American countries into South Vietnam."

We must not only blockade Cuba—we must also deny the use of the Panama Canal to all ships carrying cargo into and out of Communist Cuba.

Let there be an end to this defeatist philosophy of fearing to offend Russia. When Russia is confronted with the harsh fact that the game is up—as they were confronted in Cuba on October 22—they follow the only course open to them if they hope to survive; they back down.

There will become who will call this course of confrontation jingoism. There are always those who choose to believe a bully can be won over with soft talk and sweet reason.

Jingoism is an outdated word. A better name is self-preservation.

#### PANAMA CANAL COMPANY REPORT

Subject: Annual report of Board of Directors. Letter to stockholder:

It is very gratifying to report that a record volume of traffic moved through the Panama Canal last year reflecting the canal's expanding role in the steady growth of world ocean-borne commerce. The average time spent by ships in Canal Zone waters during transit was reduced to 15.5 hours, compared with 16.5 hours per transit in 1961. This 1 hour reduction in transit time represents a sav-

ings of approximately \$1 million to our customers.

Waterway improvements progressed on schedule during 1962, and the final contract in the channel widening program will be awarded within the next year.

For the 11th successive year since its reorganization (July 1, 1951), the Panama Canal financed within its resources, and without cost to the taxpayer, all of its operational and capital requirements.

The capital program required expenditures of \$16.1 million during the fiscal year. This was the second highest annual expenditure of this nature since the reorganization. The largest single item of capital expenditure was \$5.9 million toward widening of the Empire Beach within Galliard Cut. In the 5 years through fiscal year 1962, a total of \$22.8 million has been expended for the channel improvement program and additional expenditures necessary to complete this program will approximate \$20.9 million. Other major expenditures in 1962 included \$2.3 million on the quarters replacement program, \$1.3 million for an additional electric generating plant, \$0.6 million on the central air-conditioning plant, and \$0.5 million on the new locks towing locomotives.

The funds provided through operations, net revenue, depreciation, etc., were not sufficient to finance capital expenditures and it became necessary to draw down cash reserves to the extent of \$1.7 million.

Tolls revenue was at an alltime high of \$58.3 million, for transiting 11,340 ships over 300 tons. Comparatively figures for 1961 were \$55.2 million and 11,054 ships. The average cost to the shipper per cargo ton was 74.9 cents (excludes vessels transiting in ballast or measured on displacement basis), as compared to 74.8 cents for the previous year. The tolls rate remains unchanged at 90 cents per laden ton under Panama Canal measurement.

On June 29, 1962, the SS *Ancon* was transferred to the U.S. Maritime Administration, Department of Commerce, on a nonreimbursable basis, for ultimate transfer to the State of Maine. Consequently, the equity of the U.S. Government in the Company was reduced some \$2 million.

Special emphasis has been given to equality of treatment of all employees. Several programs have been initiated to improve communications with our Spanish-speaking employees as well as our neighbors in the Republic of Panama.

(By order of the Board of Directors.)

ROBERT J. FLEMING, Jr.,

President.

#### CANAL TRAFFIC

Demands for Panama Canal services established new high records for the year. Ocean-going transits increased by 2.6 percent, cargo tonnage by 6 percent, and tolls income by 5.8 percent over the previous record year of 1961. The flags of some 38 nations of the world were represented by the 11,149 commercial transits. Ranked in the order of their transit volume were the flags of the United States, Norway, Great Britain, Germany, and Liberia. Russian ships in trade with Cuba made 12 transits. The average tonnage of transiting commercial vessels increased by 3 percent. The number of large ships with beams of 80 feet and over increased by 6 percent.

Of the 67,525,000 long tons of commercial cargo that passed through the waterway, 96.5 percent originated in or was destined to one of the nations of North, South, or Central America. Some 22,189,000 long tons of U.S. exports, 17,669,000 tons of U.S. imports, and 5,562,000 tons of cargo moving in the U.S. intercoastal trade passed through the canal.

The flow of cargo to the Far East continued to dominate canal traffic growth as it has for the past 3 years. Commercial cargo movements increased 3,855,000 long tons over last year, of which 3,321,000 long tons



was increased flow to the Far East. Cargo movements to Japan alone increased 2,700,000 tons. Japan's industrial boom has been reflected in canal traffic. The beginning of the current expansion phase occurred in 1959 when 7,973,000 long tons of cargo passed through the canal to Japan. This year 16,504,000 long tons moved to Japan. Some slowing in the rapid rate of growth in cargo movements to Japan occurred in late fiscal year 1962. Showing a very impressive percentage increase for the year was the volume of cargo moving to Red China and Russia. Cargo movements to Red China totaled 877,000 long tons for an increase of 600 percent and movements to Russia totaled 344,000 long tons for an increase of 48 percent. Sugar movements from Cuba accounted for the vast majority of this combined tonnage. In the return flow of cargo, Red China and Russia shipped 52,000 tons of cargo to Cuba. Thus cargo movements during 1962 marked another year in the continued phenomenal growth that has occurred in canal traffic since World War II. During this 16-year period, commercial cargo movements have increased 212 percent, an annual average increase of 7.5 percent. Only 1958 failed to surpass the previous year in total tonnage movements.

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BELL. I would like to commend the gentleman from Illinois on his first speech in the House of Representatives and for his very fine and astute analysis of problems of such importance as this.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I thank my colleague.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the gentleman from Illinois on the very excellent presentation he has made to the House today and also to suggest that each and every suggestion and warning and advice that can emanate from this House which may help in the solution of the very tense international situation primarily in the area of Cuba is a contribution to the Nation. This important message that we have had today from the gentleman from Illinois is along that line and contributes to that end. He has made a suggestion which provides a forceful and yet a non-belligerent method of helping to resolve this difficult problem. I compliment the gentleman on the research and study that has evidently gone into the preparation of his remarks. I am confident that the Executive will want to take very careful note of the suggestions and recommendations that have been made. Also, Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself with the gentleman in the presentation which was given to the House today.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I thank my colleague.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RUMSFELD. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Illinois, my colleague.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate the gentleman for his remarks here this afternoon. The gentleman is my neighbor to the north and it is certainly a pleasure to see him

deliver his maiden speech today in the fine manner that he did and to see him get into the general swim of debate in the House of Representatives. His constituents have every reason to be proud of their Congressman for his maiden speech here today. I am familiar with the Sun-Times recommendation regarding denial of the Panama Canal to ships hauling goods to Communist-dominated Cuba. The gentleman from Illinois is wise in urging the proposal be adopted as part of our policy toward Cuba. This is a sound proposal. I should like to congratulate the gentleman from Illinois on his opening remarks when he said he was not so much concerned about the number of troops or types of weapons in Cuba, but whether or not the very presence of Soviet Communists in Cuba is serving as a base for exporting communism to the entire South American Continent. This is really the heart of the Cuban issue and I hope the gentleman will agree that this is the concept in which President Kennedy is today viewing the entire Cuban situation. He has stated repeatedly that the presence of Communists in Cuba constitutes a menace to this country and this entire hemisphere in that Cuba serves as a base for exporting communism to the rest of the South American Continent.

I believe that the suggestion made by the gentleman today certainly is one that should be given careful consideration as a step toward an overall effort to narrow the ability of the Communists to fortify Cuba economically so they can continue exporting communism to South America. Once we succeed in isolating Cuba economically, I believe we can start looking confidently toward the day when we can eradicate the Communists from Cuba. It has been my judgment for some time that sooner or later the Communists will fall from the weight of their own oppression—not only in Cuba but all over the world. No system has had as dismal a record of failure as the Communist system. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to congratulate my neighbor to the north of my congressional district, for the significant contribution he has made here today in his maiden speech and certainly, for calling our attention to the excellent editorial which appeared in the Sun-Times. Even though the gentleman and I are of different political parties and beliefs, I am certain I can state with confidence, Mr. RUMSFELD's constituents can be proud of his initial contribution today.

Mr. RUMSFELD. I thank my colleague.

#### ROGERS CHARGES THAT WEATHER NOT THE REASON FOR CIA MIS-SILE PHOTO LAG

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LIBONATI). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. ROGERS] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, weather conditions can hardly be the reason why the CIA, according to reports, was unable to produce photos of Russian missiles in Cuba and the Air Force did. From published reports, it

appears that the very first Strategic Air Command overflight of Cuba produced the photographs which showed the extent of Russian missiles in Cuba was sufficient for the President to act.

I have compared the weather reports for Cuba during the period September 5 through October 14—the period during which CIA was allegedly conducting aerial intelligence reconnaissance over Cuba. Cloudy to rainy weather prevailed on the days CIA overflights were reportedly conducted. As confirmed by the Department of Defense, aerial reconnaissance of Cuba was performed by the Air Force during the early morning hours of October 14. This is the important point—weather conditions on that morning were generally as cloudy and difficult as those under which the CIA had been operating for the previous 5 weeks. And as the President stated in his speech on October 22 when he came before the Nation to expose the Soviet threat in Cuba, his decision was based on receiving the first preliminary hard missile information the morning of October 16.

Just what is the reason?

In any case, the Congress has a right to review the operations of the CIA. Such review should be conducted by Members of both the House and the Senate in a joint watchdog committee as I have proposed. I urge all Members of Congress to get behind the movement to form this permanent joint watchdog committee for the security of this Nation.

#### ELLIS ISLAND

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBERSTEIN] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. FARBERSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as Ellis Island is in the 19th Congressional District which I have the honor to represent, I feel a special interest in the problem of its disposition. Let me recall that it has been more than 7 years since the historic old facility was abandoned, 7 years in which the island has been idle and has been allowed to gradually decay.

Now, there is no need to argue at length for the special importance of this piece of property. Ellis Island is not ordinary real estate to be sold to the highest bidder. Yet unless Congress takes action, the General Services Administration will once again throw the island open to competitive bidding and we may indeed see a commercial project replace the historic buildings.

We are fortunate that there are citizens in our community sufficiently alarmed by this prospect to have organized and to have worked for an alternative. A group of our most distinguished educators has, in the past 2 years, elaborated a detailed, concrete, and practical plan that would convert the existing buildings on Ellis Island into a first-rate new liberal arts college. Their plan would accomplish a double goal; it would preserve all the existing buildings and at the same time it would put them to practical use by meeting the urgent and

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Federal jobs for Negroes. Yet, what are the facts? The latest available figures I have been able to secure are from the Department of Labor, Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. This report shows Negroes in the Federal service make up 13 percent of the total working force. The Post Office Department had 15 percent, Veterans' Administration, 19 percent, and General Services Administration, 16 percent. Negroes represent about 10 percent of the population of the United States. Certainly no one can claim they are being discriminated against in Federal employment, where we find competent Negroes in jobs at every level of government.

The South has been made the whipping boy of the civil rights question and completely ignored are the great strides made in the improvement of the lot of the Negro in the South. Those liberals who scream loudest for integration and complete civil rights in the South will have no part of it in the North. Minor racial incidents in the South are banner headlines in newspapers throughout the world, but there is a strange silence over major race riots in Chicago, New York and here in Washington, D.C., on last Thanksgiving Day. And what of the segregation practices of many of the labor unions who will deny acceptance of the Negro in their organization, but will demand that all the rest of society accept him?

Negro leaders, too, must alter their thinking if they truly believe in the cause of improving conditions for their race. In the millions of words in the newspapers, magazines and over radio and TV, calling for more civil rights for the Negro, greater opportunity for the Negro, better homes for the Negro, rare it is indeed for any prominent Negro leader to remind his fellows that with rights there is also responsibility. There must be some effort on the part of people to help themselves. People cannot move ahead by absolving themselves of all responsibility for every irresponsible action by claiming that all Negro lawlessness is caused by lack of job opportunity, lack of recreational facilities, lack of good homes. Granted that environment is a contributing cause to delinquency in many cases among all races, there are too many crimes committed by Negroes from good homes with good opportunities to make this a blanket excuse for every delinquent and criminal belonging to a minority.

We cannot call it civil rights when the President issues Executive orders, which in my opinion are unconstitutional, taking away the rights of the owners of private property by making it illegal for them to rent or sell to persons of their own choice in a free market.

Mr. Speaker, the best way we can help the Negro and all minority groups is for all of us to pull together to return this Nation to constitutional limited Government so that the people at the State and local level can settle many of the problems we now face. I am still of the firm belief that the good that is in the hearts and minds of most Americans will furnish the prescription for justice for all people if friends and neighbors can at-

tack their problems without Federal interference and agitation by those who, for political gain or other reasons, find it advantageous to stir up unrest and racial tensions. Patience, courage, goodwill, a belief in the American dream and the ideals which inspired the founding of this great Nation will solve the problems for the minorities. Political pressure, the subverting of the Constitution in order to build a political dynasty, the appeal to racism in the mad quest for power can only slow the progress which is already being made in behalf of minorities.

While we are on the subject of civil rights, how about the civil rights of the millions of workers of this country who are being deprived of their rights by ruthless and autocratic labor leaders? How about the civil rights of the people of Cleveland and New York who have been denied their newspapers for months because of the action of a small group of labor leaders? How about the civil rights of hundreds of thousands of workers who were thrown off their jobs and other countless thousands of our citizens whose rights were ignored by the reckless action of the recent dock workers' strike? If we believe in civil rights, let us be for civil rights all the way. As a part of these remarks I would like to include editorials by David Lawrence in the U.S. News & World Report:

## ANARCHY

(By David Lawrence)

Moral decay in our political system is responsible for the anarchy that prevails today in labor-management relations.

We prate about civil rights. We send Federal troops to coerce a State university to admit a student. We file suits in the courts to make sure that certain citizens are not denied voting rights. But we shut our eyes when the whole governmental system is used to blackmail an employer into accepting the exorbitant demands of labor unions.

The longshoremen's strike was settled by Government intervention, but can it be said that "free" collective bargaining characterized the settlement?

The newspaper strikes in Cleveland and New York have been frowned upon by public opinion in both cities and in the Nation wherever the facts have been revealed. But the right of a dictator in one union—backed by other unions—to hold out until some of the employers are tottering on the edge of bankruptcy has not been challenged in the courts. No "inherent" powers are invoked by the Attorney General to sustain an employer's civil right—the opportunity to survive.

Isn't there a civil right which says that no citizen can conspire with another to destroy a man's business?

Isn't there a civil right which says that nobody can conspire with someone else to prevent another citizen from crossing a picketline either to take a job or to buy goods from a company involved in a strike?

Isn't there a civil right which says that a union having a bare majority of the employees in a bargaining unit has no right to represent other citizens who refuse to join such a union?

Isn't there a civil right which says that a man cannot be forced to accept the tenets of any church or organization or political party? So why must he be fired from his job because he will not join a union?

Isn't there a civil right which says that a citizen who is physically threatened or attacked in a labor dispute may obtain redress?

Yet, writing in the January 21 issue of this magazine, J. Mack Swigert, of Cincinnati, Ohio, one of the foremost authorities on labor law in the country, says:

"Labor-violence cases, when presented in police court, are customarily continued until the strike is over and then dismissed. The reluctance of many courts to issue and to enforce injunctions against unions is well known to lawyers.

"Police assigned to strike duty often look the other way when union violence occurs. Even the FBI is reluctant to intervene in labor disputes. Many States have statutes forbidding or limiting the use of State highway police in such disputes. A tendency to lean in the direction of the union when the question is a close one is observed throughout almost the entire hierarchy of public officials.

"Favorable treatment of unions is particularly marked in the case of State and Federal administrative officials and employees who deal directly with labor problems.

"State departments of labor, workmen's compensation commissions, unemployment commissions, industrial commissions, mediation boards, and labor boards are almost uniformly staffed with union members or former union officials or persons otherwise closely associated with and sympathetic to the union movement. This is true even though these agencies are charged with the protection of all workers, including the great majority who are nonunion.

"Similarly, the U.S. Department of Labor, the National Labor Relations Board, and, to a considerable extent, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, as well as other agencies dealing with labor problems, are staffed largely with union members or sympathizers.

"Since the advent of the Kennedy administration, the National Labor Relations Board has openly moved in a direction very helpful to organized labor.

"The unions now have a clear majority of union sympathizers on the Board.

"During the past 2 years, under the leadership of the new Chairman of the Board, numerous precedents have been overruled and discarded, and the labor law has been substantially changed without legislation.

"Largely because of public sympathy and effective political action, unions not only benefit from favorable legislation, but also are singled out for special and favorable treatment from courts, arbitrators, law officers, and other public officials.

"As politicians make laws and enforce them, this idea that unions can influence the direction of thousands or even millions of votes leads politicians who want to keep their jobs or advance in their profession to bend in the union direction when a union issue is before them."

How can we shut our eyes to the true meaning of this indictment? On these issues, we seem to have experienced a moral deterioration as we drift into a state of anarchy in the national economy.

## A BILL TO CREATE A JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

(Mr. LANGEN (at the request of Mr. BELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the body of the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, I have today submitted a bill to create a Joint Committee on the Budget. We have discussed the possibility of such a joint committee in the past, but we have not acted. The time has come, however, when we can no longer ignore the pressing need for the greater cooperation and

efficiency that would result from the work of such a group.

A Joint Committee on the Budget would consider the President's messages on the state of the Union and Economic Report, would inform itself on all matters relating to the annual budget of the agencies of our Government, and would report its findings to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees with recommendations that would expedite the handling of appropriations requests.

Thus far this session we have received a request from the President for appropriations in the next fiscal year in the amount of more than \$98 billion, the largest peacetime budget ever submitted. While we attempt to analyze this budget request, we must also consider the possible effects of proposed tax cuts and reforms. The Appropriations Committees of the House and the Senate must each wade through volumes of information, often duplicating activities, and resulting in needless delays.

Last year's budget message predicted a surplus of \$500 million by the reasoning that revenues would exceed expenditures. It is now conceded that when June tolls around we will have a deficit of at least \$8 or \$9 billion. This represents an error in judgment comparable to 10 percent of the total expenditures of the Government for the year. This clearly indicates the need for further checking, evaluation, examination, and closer cooperation between the two Houses of Congress.

With the complexities and size of modern-day budgets, the American people expect and should get the most efficient evaluations and considerations possible when we appropriate their money.

A Joint Committee on the Budget would greatly improve the surveillance over the expenditures of public funds and would be a positive step toward the elimination of extravagance, waste, and needless or excessive appropriations.

We need harmony and cooperation between the respective Appropriations Committees of the two Houses of Congress. This bill would provide a climate conducive to such cooperation. It is only reasonable that we all will benefit when the two groups work together, get the same information, to enable them to more intelligently evaluate the many requests before them.

We already have a precedent for such a joint committee. The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation has been in operation for a number of years and has demonstrated how much efficiency can be effected through cooperation.

These same efficiencies can be effected in the area of the budget, and I respectfully urge the adoption of this measure to bring such a joint committee into being.

#### BULGARIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

(Mr. CONTE (at the request of Mr. BELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the body of the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, March 3d, it will have been 83 years since the Bulgarian people received their independence from the Imperial Russian Government and the Ottoman Empire; ending a 500-year struggle.

Bulgarian liberation followed the self-sacrificing struggle led by such patriots as George Rakovski, Vasil Levski, and Christo Botev and was preceded by a national uprising which won the sympathy of the world.

The liberation of Bulgaria was followed by the election of a freely elected national assembly which adopted the Tirmovo Constitution, one of the great liberal doctrines of all times.

Ignored by the present Communist regime, the constitution has always been the rallying point for democratic forces opposing communism in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian people, Mr. Speaker, have remarkably demonstrated what can be done in a free country.

September 8, 1944 was a sad day for freedom loving people throughout the world. Bulgaria was invaded by Russian armies and the Bulgarian democratic government coalition of the National Agrarian Union and the democratic party was overthrown. A Communist controlled government was established and Bulgaria became another satellite to Communist Russia.

The story since that time has been the usual tragic one. We can only hope as we reflect upon the misery that ensnarls Communist Bulgaria today, that the great and unconquerable will that the Bulgarian people have demonstrated in the past will reassert itself, and freedom will again encompass the country.

#### CUBAN CAVES

(Mr. CLEVELAND (at the request of Mr. BELL) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the body of the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, the presence of a Soviet bloc satellite 90 miles off our shores is sufficient cause for alarm from the standpoint of its possible use as a base for subversion. Given the attitudes of Fidel Castro and his Communist friends, it would be imprudent to think otherwise. By the same token, we cannot overlook the possibility of Castro's Soviet and Chinese Communist allies using Cuba for similar purposes.

However, the presence of intermediate range missiles capable of delivering either a nuclear or chemical attack upon the United States would pose an even graver problem for this Nation—one requiring steel nerves and costly counter-measures.

#### FORTY-SIX MISSILES IN CUBA?

The U.S. News & World Report of February 4, 1963, has an item on page 38 entitled "Eyewitness: '46 Medium-Range Missiles Still on the Island.'" According to this item, the Soviets originally sent 88 medium-range missiles to Cuba, of which only 42 were withdrawn last fall. The complete item is as follows:

An authoritative source who has just left Cuba reported this:

My people counted 88 medium-range Soviet missiles in Cuba, of which only 42 were taken out, by Russian count. That leaves 46 missiles still on the island.

There are 10,000 Russian troops and 12,000 non-Russian Communists in "international brigades."

Why did the United States stop its pressure after the week of confrontation over missiles?

On the Saturday night before the agreement with Russia, October 27, 1962, there was panic in the upper circles of the Castro government.

Officials were running for cover. They were quietly asking diplomats for asylum, trying to get into embassies. They were trying to get places for themselves and families on ships leaving Havana.

Now that the United States has permitted Castro to demobilize, morale has gone back up. My judgment is that the winners of the showdown in October were the Russians and Castro, and that the loser was the United States.

The average Cuban now says, "I hate the Communists, but I also hate the United States." His hatred is for being let down twice, in the invasion at the Bay of Pigs, and last October.

The economy and administration of Cuba are a catastrophe. Housing projects are falling apart. There are no new shoes. But the police state and the Communist military forces make an uprising from the inside impossible.

I have no knowledge as to the accuracy of the above item. However, if there are in fact 46 missiles left in Cuba, they have to be somewhere. Caves are the most likely storage area, barring the possibility of a form of camouflage not yet detectable by our current air surveillance techniques.

#### LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE REPORT

So far as I know, little information has been published recently about the size and number of caves in Cuba. On February 7, 1963, I asked the Legislative Reference Service to search the Library of Congress for references to Cuban caves. On February 19, 1963, I received the following reply:

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,

Washington, D.C., February 19, 1963.

To: HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND.

From: Natural Resources Division.

Subject: Number and sizes of the caves in Cuba.

Response is made to your inquiry of February 7, 1963 relative to caves in Cuba.

Inquiry was made of the Geological Survey concerning caves in Cuba. The Survey indicated it had no specific knowledge as to the number and sizes of the caves. However, they reported that Dr. Charles Park, Jr., Dean, Earth Sciences, University of Stanford, Stanford, Calif., might have information, since he carried out a limestone study in Cuba.

A search was made of material available in the Library of Congress. This search did not reveal any recently published material indicating the number and sizes of the caves in Cuba. However, materials are available which discuss various aspects of caves found in Cuba. The source of listed articles in Spanish is the "Handbook of Latin American Studies," volumes 14-24, 1948-62. The following pertinent materials are enclosed:

"A Guide to the Cave of Bellamar," E. Gutierrez. A travelog of the cave is presented.



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"Caves in World History," National Speleological Society, Bulletin No. 5, October 1943, page 11. Caves in Cuba and locations.

Eigenmann, Carl H. "Cave Vertebrates of America," Washington, D.C., 1909, pages 188-201. References to caves in Cuba.

"The Idol of the Cave," M. R. Harrington. Natural history, vol. 60, No. 7. September 1951, pages 313-318, 335. Account of exploration of a cave at La Patana Cabo Maisi Cuba.

"La Espeleologia en Cuba," JNAE/R. Junio 1960, pages 39-103. Summary of cave explorations. Greater portion devoted to role of caves and of speleology in the recent revolution.

"La Caverna del sol," Antonio Munoz Jimenez. INRA, 2:3, Marzo 1961, pages 58-67. Pictographs from the Cueva de Garcia Robion in Havana province—location is secret—military installation.

In addition you may wish to refer at some later date to the following magazine articles which is currently in the bindery and consequently not immediately available.

"El archipelago de las," Cavernas, INR, 1:5, Mayo 1960, pages 46-55. Discusses painted pictographs on the roof of the Cueva de la Isla, Punta del Este, Isla de Pinos; also Cueva de Ramos in Punta de Caguanos, north of Las Villas.

The following is a listing of articles reportedly relating to caves in Cuba but which are not a part of the permanent collections of the Library of Congress.

Alvarez Conde, Jose:

Las cavernas funerarias de Cayo. "La Agriada," Habana, 1952, 34 pages. Account of discovery of burial caves off north coast of Cuba.

"Fomento: nuevo centro de hallazgos arqueologicos indigenas," Tremestre, volume 3, No. 2. Abril-Junio, pages 209-226. Cave burial in central Cuba.

"Revision Indo-arqueologica de la provincia de Las Villas," Habana, Junta Nacional de Arqueologia y Etnologia, 1961, 175 pages. Detailed summary of the sites and excavations in Las Villas Province, municipality. Includes hitherto unpublished work by the author.

Herrera Fritot, Rene and Manuel Rivero de la Calle. "La cueva funeraria de Carbonera, Matanzas." Contribucion de la sociedad Espeleologica de Cuba al Decimo Congreso Nacional de Historia. Habana, 1954, 45 pages. Excavations of a Ciboney cave on the north coast of Cuba in 1950.

"Rivera de la Calle," Manuel and Antonio Munoz Jimenez. Excursiones arqueologicas a Camaguey (Santa Clara), Cuba. Universidad Central de las Villas, Departamento de Investigaciones Antropologicas e Investigaciones Geograficas, 1958, 62 pages. Visit to a cave in Cerro de Tubaquay and to a village site in the Lomas de Guaney both in north central Cuba.

As may be seen from the foregoing, there are a number of references to Cuban caves in the Library of Congress material. In addition, I have written to Dr. Charles Park, Jr., dean of earth sciences, University of Stanford, asking him for any information he may have available on this subject.

One of the references I found very interesting in the Library of Congress compendium was a booklet entitled "Guide to the Cave of Bellamar" by Senor Eusebio Guiteras, published in 1863. This cave is located 1 mile from the Bridge of Bailen on the San Juan River near Mantanzas Bay.

Senor Guiteras describes one portion of the cave called the Galleries of the Fountains as being "2,400 feet long." It runs from "west to east, the greatest

depth is 360 feet, the ground is dry, and the temperature is 80° F."

Unfortunately, the overall dimensions of the vault are not given. He goes on to say, "In principal places there are fixed lights; good paths have been opened, bridges thrown over and steps placed wherever the passage required it."

Although few measurements are given in the booklet, an unmistakable impression of hugeness is given. For example, the first hall in the cave is called the Gothic Temple. There are several others having names equally suggesting spaciousness.

Another very interesting reference to caves in Cuba appears in a book, "Cave Vertebrates of America," by Prof. Carl H. Eigenmann, professor of zoology, Indiana University. It was published in June 1909 by the Carnegie Institute of Washington, D.C. On page 189 of this work there is a diagram of the Cave of the Insurrectos, which looks rather large indeed. On page 192 Professor Eigenmann describes the Caves of Cañas in these terms:

The caves about Cañas differ from those of the Carbonera and Alacranes. They are clster-shaped sink-holes rather than caves in the ordinary sense of the word, but on account of the absence of soil there are no funnel-like depressions on the surface to indicate their presence. There is absolutely no general surface indication that one is in a cave country in traveling through it, and it is not until standing at the very brink of one that the presence of a cave may be suspected.

The magazine, INRA, of March 1961 has an article on "The Cave of the Sun," on page 59 with illustrations. These illustrations show possible storage for large weapons of war.

The letter I received from the Legislative Reference Service indicated that the U.S. Geological Survey has little or no information concerning caves in Cuba. The Geological Survey is a fine service and this fact in no way reflects discredit upon it.

In retrospect, it seems obvious we should have collected information concerning Cuban caves. For over 50 years prior to the Castro takeover, we had the freedom to acquire this information.

All of this suggests that our information-gathering programs in the past have sometimes lacked selectivity and impetus.

## WHAT INFORMATION IS NEEDED?

Knowing what information to gather is a difficult problem. I am sure this Government has improved its information-gathering techniques since World War II. However, can anyone ever be certain as to just what will be needed in the future. I found an illustrative example of this problem in Col. Maurice Buckmaster's book "They Fought Alone." It is an example drawn from British experience at the outset of World War II. Colonel Buckmaster was charged with forming a secret British service called SOE with the mission of sabotaging French factories. The following passages show how difficult it is to foresee information needs:

On reflection, it seemed to me that the best thing I could do was to try and remem-

ber what I could about French factories which I had visited when I was working, during 1932 to 1936, for the Ford Co. of France. My information might be out of date, but at least it was information. I drew a pile of typing paper toward me.

Day after day, for 3 weeks, I dredged my brain for knowledge, noting down every conceivable thing I could about the potential, the staff and the layout of French industry. In spite of my hard work, however, I could not conceal from myself the haphazard and incomplete nature of my notes. There was no system, save a vague geographical ordering from north to south. If only there were an alphabetical list.

"The 'Bottin,'" I said, aloud. "Of course, the 'Bottin'." It was exactly what I had been looking for—an alphabetic thesaurus of French industry and commerce, department by department, from A to Z. It only remained to get hold of a copy. I telephoned confidently to my chief.

"I'd like a copy of the 'Bottin,'" I told him. "You are our 'Bottin,'" I was reminded. "Somebody must have one."

"That may be; I haven't managed to get hold of it."

"Do I have your authority to try and get a copy?" I demanded.

"Certainly, but it won't do you any good." I got through to my colonel in the intelligence corps.

"Bottin? Haven't got one in the place, old boy," he announced cheerfully.

"Do you mean to say that in the whole length and breadth of military intelligence there's no copy of the 'Bottin'?"

"If there is, I haven't seen it," the colonel said, putting down the receiver.

I thought of getting through to De Gaulle's people, but my earlier experiences of them, together with my instructions not to do anything to upset them, dissuaded me. I tried the booksellers: nothing. With some hesitation I rang through to General Templer's office. I explained my difficulty in procuring a copy of the "Bottin" and was given another extension in the war office where it was thought they might help me. "Colonel Danvers here."

"Oh, this is Major Buckmaster, French section of SOE."

"Of what?"

I explained roughly the nature of SOE insofar as I knew it myself and then said: "I need a copy of the 'Bottin' very badly if I'm to get on with my work."

"Who told you that we had a copy?"

"General Templer suggested I ring you."

"We're not allowed to release any of our secret material."

"Why should the 'Bottin' be secret material? The Germans have got as many copies of it as they want. What's the point of keeping material from your own side that's freely available to the enemy?"

"Look, old man, that's not my worry."

"Well, it is my worry. Your name was given me and I really would be most grateful if you could help me."

"My instructions are not to let my copy of the 'Bottin' out of my sight."

"You have got a copy then?"

"Possibly, possibly."

"Well, sir, can I come round to your office and use it there? It would still be in your sight."

"M'm, that's a thought."

I went round to the war office and managed to present myself to Colonel Danvers.

"I can't have you working actually in the room with me, Buckmaster," he told me. "I've put you in the little office my secretary uses for keeping her coat."

"Thank you very much, sir," I replied. He showed me into the fawn partitioned office. It was quite bare except for a desk and a chair, but on the desk was a copy of the 'Bottin.' I sat down and began to go

through it; to my delight I discovered, as I had hoped, a preface to each chapter which detailed the industries of the department with which it dealt. The first which really interested me was the Timken ball bearing factory, Qual Aulagnier, Asnieres, Seine. I happened to know that particular factory well.

Each day I returned to the colonel's secretary's cloakroom in order to pursue my researches, comparing them with the notes I had already made and adding new details of which the names of various manufacturers and factories reminded me. After I had been working in this manner for some weeks, undisturbed either by inquiries from my commanding officer or liaison activities from other members of the SOE organization, I chanced to meet a man I knew who had something to do with the War Office library.

"Are you working here now?" he demanded. "I have to," I complained, and went on to tell him about the "Bottin."

"What do you mean you can't take it out of the building?"

"I gather it's the only copy in the place."

"Come along with me." I followed him to a large and dusty storeroom which was piled high with various out-of-date handbooks and French guides. Under the windowsill was a stack of Bottins. "Help yourself," he suggested.

I helped myself.

That was the end of the only work I ever did in the War Office. I thanked Colonel Denvers for his kindness, informed him deferentially where he might replenish his slender stock of "Bottins" and repaired to Baker Street. As usual, things seemed pretty quiet there. In spite of my industrious tabulation, I was still unable fully to understand what SOE was all about or when it was going to start doing whatever it was supposed to do. Patiently, I continued my study of the "Bottin"; I had reached "P" by now.

During last fall's Cuban crisis the administration released aerial photographs of missile sites. These photographs set a praiseworthy precedent of releasing information to the American public during a crisis.

It is possible that photography of known cave entrances may exist. If available, these photographs might show any recent unusual use of such cave entrances.

If such photography exists, I suggest it would be appropriate for the administration to release it now. The precedent has been set and no one can deny the situation continues to disturb many thoughtful Americans.

Finally, if there are any private persons residing in this country who possess information on Cuban caves, I ask that they send it to the Library of Congress. Tourists, campers, cave explorers, and businessmen who spent time in Cuba may have information of this type. They should send it to:

Dr. Hugh Ellsbree, Director, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

(Mr. CURTIS (at the request of Mr. BELL) was given permission to extend his remarks in the body of the Record at this point and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CURTIS' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.1

#### A SELF-DEFEATING SUGAR POLICY

The SPEAKER. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

(Mr. COOLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include tables.)

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I shall not consume all the time allotted to me, but in an extension of remarks I will discuss at great length the unfortunate situation in which we find ourselves at the present time because of the 1962 amendments to the Sugar Act which I am sure all the Members will recall, and which resulted in the members of my committee being vilified and abused as never before in my memory during my 28 years of service here.

Mr. Speaker, during the past several weeks, as our sugar situation has steadily deteriorated, there have been numerous suggestions from every quarter of the sugar community that I, as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, take some stand on this matter. This I have thus far refused to do because it seemed to me that those officials charged with the responsibility of administering this inept parody of a sugar law had a hard enough job on their hands without those of us who had opposed its global quotas and premium recapture theories from the very first standing on the sidelines shouting "I told you so."

Now, however, it is apparent that the Department of Agriculture has lost control of the situation—that sugar prices are out of hand, and that the existing law provides no mechanism which will permit the Department of Agriculture to regain effective control of sugar prices. In fairness to the forgotten man of the 1962 Sugar Act—the American consumer—I think it is time for some plain speaking.

In New York day before yesterday the spot price of raw sugar was 6.90 cents per pound. This is 0.15 cent per pound more than 2 weeks ago; it is 0.31 cent per pound higher than it was 2 months ago; and it is 0.50 cent per pound more than refiners had to pay for raw sugar on July 13, 1962, when the Sugar Act now in effect was signed by the President. It is the highest price that American refiners have been forced to pay for raw sugar since 1924.

Speculators, apparently, do not think that, under the circumstances, this price is too high, for Tuesday, in New York on the coffee and sugar exchange, the price of futures in domestic sugar for September delivery closed at 6.90 cents per pound.

If the price of sugar should continue at the latest announced wholesale price for the remainder of 1963—and there is no assurance that it will not go higher—American consumers will pay at least \$110 million more for their sugar in 1963 than they paid in 1962.

What has happened? Why do we find ourselves in this situation? The answer is relatively simple. On July 13, 1962, when the President signed the sugar law under which we are now operating, we

chose to cancel the sugar insurance policy which for 30 years had assured American consumers of ample sugar supplies at a stable and reasonable price. With the enactment of that legislation we chose, figuratively and literally, to stop paying the premium on our sugar supply-price insurance and to take our chances on the world market.

When that legislation became law, the world market price of sugar was approximately 2.86 cents per pound and the proponents of the "no premium," "global quota" policy that is written into our new law apparently assumed it was going to stay forever at that low level.

On Tuesday, however, the price of world sugar was 6.2 cents per pound, f.o.b. Caribbean ports. This is 0.3 cent per pound above the New York price, when freight and import duty amounting to about 1 cent per pound are added. This means that when present shipping commitments are fulfilled, the only way for the United States to obtain additional supplies of sugar is for our price to follow the world price upward. I have no idea how far it may go.

#### TO PROTECT THE WELFARE OF CONSUMERS OF SUGAR

The title of the Sugar Act describes its basic purposes:

To regulate commerce among the several States, with the territories and possessions of the United States, and with foreign countries; to protect the welfare of consumers of sugar and of those engaged in the domestic sugar producing industry; to promote the export trade of the United States; and for other purposes.

It has become painfully apparent that the Sugar Act, as it was revised last summer, and as the Committee on Agriculture warned might be the case, is no longer capable of carrying out one of its most basic objectives—"to protect the welfare of consumers of sugar." The upward surge in sugar prices is not yet fully reflected in the 5-pound bag the housewife buys at the local market. But the commercial and industrial users of sugar, who use about two-thirds of all we consume and who must fit the price of sugar into the price of their own end products, are understandably alarmed.

Their alarm is even greater, Mr. Speaker, when they realize that we have canceled our sugar price insurance, that the Department of Agriculture has lost control over U.S. sugar prices, that the present law gives it no tools with which to reestablish that control, and that from now on, as long as this sugar policy remains on the books, U.S. consumers will be at the mercy of world prices whenever those world prices go above the U.S. price level.

This is exactly the situation which the Committee on Agriculture warned against last summer when it refused to accept the administration's global quota proposal and reported to the House a bill continuing the sugar price and supply insurance which had operated so well for some 30 years.

#### OUR SUGAR INSURANCE POLICY

Let me be specific about what I am referring to when I discuss the insurance

Bulgaria continue to look to the West for ideas and inspiration.

It is proper that we join today with Americans of Bulgarian background in pledging that one day Bulgaria shall be free once again, and that the Bulgarian people will once again joint the Western democratic nations as people of an independent nation.

#### KALEWALA DAY, FEBRUARY 28, FINNISH HOLIDAY

Mr. HART. Mr. President, every nation develops out of its history and its language an epic which embodies the virtues and the values and the high principles which have borne that nation through history and led it to greatness.

The national epic of Finland is the Kalewala, and the Finnish people rightfully take pride in this classic work for it reflects the character and the personality of the Finnish nation and its people. There are recorded the heroic deeds of the legendary and historical figures in the long and glorious history of the Finnish people.

For centuries these songs and verses were handed down from generation to generation by oral means. But then they were collected and set down in writing and on February 28, 1835 the first fairly complete collection of verses was published in Finland—the Kalewala.

Mr. President, ever since that happy day, February 28 has been celebrated by Finns throughout the world as a national holiday. We in Michigan have been fortunate that many Finnish people chose our State when they came to the United States. Michigan's history and institutions show clearly the strength, independence, and courage of these people and their descendants.

I join my Finnish friends today in celebrating the 128th anniversary of the publication of Kalewala.

#### ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY— FEBRUARY 24

Mr. HART. Mr. President, 45 years ago the ancient nation of Estonia gained its independence, established a democratic form of government and thrived in peace until the Second World War.

Today, Estonia does not exist as an independent nation. She has been brutally incorporated against her will into the Soviet empire. All attempts to preserve the Estonian heritage are suppressed by agents of the Kremlin.

However, today the spirit of the Estonian people remains strong. Hope and determination lives strongly in the hearts of the Estonian people that one day Estonia will again be free and independent.

It is fitting that we here once again express the continuing regard of America for the aspirations of the Estonian people, and that we join with all persons of Estonian background in renewing our pledge that all shall be done to assure that Estonia will one day walk in freedom.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE BY RADIO STATIONS

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I am confident that there are many radio stations throughout the country that accept their responsibility, under their license, "to be of public service." There are some that take this pledge with a sense of positive dedication far beyond legal requirement. This is the case station WAQE whose facilities are located in my home county in Maryland.

Mr. Charles S. Gerber, station manager of WAQE has chosen Howard Cottage at the Maryland Training School for Boys as the station's community public service project for 1963.

Every Monday night, the staff and management of WAQE, on a voluntary basis, visits with the boys at Howard Cottage.

WAQE hopes to bring to public attention the fine work that Maryland Training School is doing and the desperate need for private citizens to take an interest in these boys, who have been judged juvenile delinquents.

The need for help is not only while they are at the training school, but after their period of training has been served. To help arouse public interest, a series of programs, presenting Maryland Training School will be broadcast beginning January 26, through June 29. These programs will be heard at 12:30 p.m., every Saturday.

Today in Maryland, one out of every five boys comes in contact with the police. Therefore, it is imperative that the citizenry of our State become alerted to the problems and how each individual can play a part in helping to stamp out juvenile delinquency and to help the delinquent. By working with the boys, it is hoped that the staff of WAQE will be more qualified to perform the public service so desperately needed to help these boys.

In addition to the Monday night visits, plans are being made to take the boys bowling, to sports events and other special entertainment.

It is with great pride that I rise today to bring this fine example of public service to the attention of my colleagues in the Senate.

#### SIoux FALLS EDITOR SUPPORTS PRESIDENT'S CUBA POLICY

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, at a time when some Americans appear to be urging the President to follow an extreme policy in Cuba that might involve us unnecessarily in a war, it is encouraging to note a thoughtful editorial in the Sioux Falls, S. Dak., Argus-Leader supporting the wise policy of restraint now being pursued by the President.

There are those who would shoot first and learn the facts later. The President has very wisely resisted such temptations.

I commend to my colleagues an editorial from the Argus-Leader of Saturday, February 23, which I ask unanimous

consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SENSIBLE RESPONSE BY THE PRESIDENT

President John K. Kennedy has issued shoot-if-necessary orders against any plane or other sorties from Red Cuba.

This followed the news that two Mig fighter planes from Cuba fired rockets in a flight over a U.S. shrimpboat in the Florida Straits earlier this week.

The President refrained, pending further information, from pinning any blame on the Soviet Government for the attack on the Ala. The small craft and its two crewmen were not hit.

"These planes came from Cuba and flew under a Cuban flag and, therefore, unless the Soviet Union should claim they were flying them, we would hold the Cubans responsible," the President said.

The President said that he had given orders "to insure that action will be taken against any vessel or aircraft which executes an attack against a vessel or aircraft of the United States over international waters in the Caribbean."

The President declined to proclaim a policy of hot pursuit, as advocated by some Members of Congress. Under this policy, attacking planes or ships would be pursued back to their Cuban bases if necessary to destroy them.

Details of the United States reaction might well wait, the President said, until it is seen whether the attack on the shrimpboat was an isolated incident, the result of a pilot's decision, or was the deliberate decision by the Cuban Government which forecasts other attacks.

Meantime, it looks like the Russians are heeding the President's warnings and American public opinion, in their move to take some more of their troops out of Cuba. Patience is indicated in this situation, rather than a trigger-happy response.

We think President Kennedy has taken a sensible course. He has the responsibility.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD yesterday's Washington Post report of a recent Gallup poll demonstrating the overwhelming opposition of the American people to sending our Armed Forces into war with Cuba under present circumstances.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### OPPOSITION TO INVASION OF CUBA RISES IN UNITED STATES

PRINCETON, N.J., February 26.—Although they see Premier Fidel Castro's Cuba as a serious threat to world peace, the American people at this point are opposed to a U.S. invasion of this island.

Americans, in fact, are slightly less invasion-minded about Cuba today than they were last fall before President Kennedy's decision to blockade the Communist outpost in the Caribbean.

Some persons point out, moreover, that the results of the quarantine action are a factor in their current belief that the Cuba dilemma can be solved without a hot war.

With the controversy over Cuba continuing, the public was asked a question last put to them shortly before the blockade decision last October:

"Some people say that the United States should send our Armed Forces into Cuba



to help overthrow Castro. Do you agree or disagree?"

The vote today and last fall:

| Today:     | Percent |
|------------|---------|
| Agree      | 20      |
| Disagree   | 54      |
| No opinion | 18      |

October 1962:

|            |    |
|------------|----|
| Agree      | 24 |
| Disagree   | 63 |
| No opinion | 13 |

To further determine just how real a danger the people feel Cuba constitutes today, the public was then asked:

"Do you think the Cuba situation is a serious threat to world peace at this time, or not?"

| The vote:  | Percent |
|------------|---------|
| Yes, is    | 59      |
| No, is not | 31      |
| No opinion | 10      |

Despite the partisan controversy involved in the overall Cuba question, virtually identical majorities of Republicans, Democrats and Independents indicate their opposition to a U.S. invasion of Cuba at this time.

On the question of Cuba as a threat to world peace, however, Republican voters display more concern than either Democrats or Independents.

The vote on this question by party preferences:

| Republicans: | Percent |
|--------------|---------|
| Yes, is      | 65      |
| No, is not   | 27      |
| No opinion   | 8       |

|            |    |
|------------|----|
| Democrats: |    |
| Yes, is    | 59 |
| No, is not | 31 |
| No opinion | 10 |

|               |    |
|---------------|----|
| Independents: |    |
| Yes, is       | 57 |
| No, is not    | 35 |
| No opinion    | 8  |

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no further morning business, morning business is concluded.

#### SAFEGUARDS TO BE OBSERVED IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, for many months I have been disturbed over the apparent attitude of our Government in reference to disarmament. Today I want to talk about that subject in some detail. My remarks relate to Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, submitted by me, which can be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for February 20, 1963, page 2464, column 2.

The information that caused me to submit this resolution, and which is embodied in what I will say today, comes from public sources that were published in 1962 or before. My remarks are not related to any information imparted to a senatorial committee, because I have had no opportunity to receive such information.

I have submitted Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 to provide a bare minimum of congressional guidance to our negotiators now meeting with the Soviets to discuss arms control and disarmament. This guidance is not only necessary, but also mandatory, in view of the growing concern of the American people in this vital and complex subject.

This concern has been aroused by several developments in recent weeks:

First, A statement by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in which

he expresses the belief that we can deal more realistically with the Soviet Union if that nation were soon to develop an invulnerable second-strike missile force.

Second. Acceptance of this position by the State Department in a speech by an arms control adviser at Ann Arbor, Mich.

Third. A study released by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which states, in effect, that the United States should consider seriously dropping its demand for on-the-spot inspection to insure compliance with any arms control or disarmament agreements.

Coincident with these developments has been an extremely grave new pronouncement of Soviet policy from Moscow—little read and little understood.

This publication is called *Voyennaya Strategiya*, which I understand is interpreted to mean "military strategy." It was prepared under the direction of Marshal Sokolorsky, by 14 Soviet generals, and published last year. For the first time since 1928 the Soviet Union has formally changed its strategic concept. The new strategy, as explained in the Soviet document, involves total war, total destruction, and total nuclear annihilation. Of course, this is their ultimate strategy and cannot succeed unless or until the Soviet Union acquires the kind of nuclear superiority over the free world which the United States now holds over the Communists.

As I said, these developments are in themselves grave and leave with us serious implications. Perhaps the most serious of all implications is the possibility that these statements and developments can or will be misinterpreted at home, among our allies or, most importantly, by a potential enemy.

That this new approach of American policy is subject to misinterpretation is conceded by Mr. McNamara himself in his now-famous interview with Stewart Alsop in the Saturday Evening Post of December 1, 1962.

I would like to quote in full at this point the paragraph from the interview which has caused so much concern. That they are important to the subject at hand can best be demonstrated by the words themselves. In that interview, Mr. McNamara was asked if it were not wise to assume that the time will come when the other side would have a sure second-strike capability. His response:

Yes, and that raises an interesting point. I believe myself that a counterforce strategy is most likely to apply in circumstances in which both sides have the capability of surviving a first strike and retaliating selectively. This is a highly unpredictable business, of course. But today, following a surprise attack on us, we would still have the power to respond with overwhelming force, and they would not then have the capability of a further strike. In this situation, given the highly irrational act of an attempted first strike against us, such a strike seems most likely to take the form of an all-out attack on both military targets and population centers. This is why a nuclear exchange confined to military targets seems more possible, not less, when both sides have a sure second-strike capability. Then you might have a more stable "balance of terror." This may seem a rather subtle point, but from where I'm sitting it seems a point worth thinking about.

As Secretary McNamara says, this does, indeed, seem to be a subtle point, and it most certainly is a point worth careful examination. It is obviously open to interpretation, and it has been variously interpreted by various people. One obvious connotation was placed on this "subtle" point by the State Department. In a speech on December 19, just a few weeks after the McNamara interview appeared in print, Robert E. Matteson, an adviser to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency—a branch of the State Department—gave what must be considered the official departmental view of the McNamara interview.

I might point out here that all such speeches are carefully screened by the Department and cannot be made without highest possible clearance from the Department.

In his speech, Mr. Matteson had this to say:

It is even possible as Secretary McNamara intimated in the Alsop interview in the Saturday Evening Post that it would be a good thing if the Soviets were to achieve soon an invulnerable second-strike capability. My own feeling is that it might enhance the prospects of an early arms control-disarmament agreement.

If this is the official view of a high-ranking State Department official, what then can the American people think?

Following by less than a month came a report from the Woods Hole Summer Study, sponsored by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, on the problems of verification and response. This comparatively new study was released a short time ago. It was written by a group of scientific and legal experts who gathered at Woods Hole, Mass., last summer to discuss the many facets of the problem.

They come to the conclusion that inspection is not really the answer but emphasize, rather, what they term "verification." They even admit in their study that complete verification is not possible nor, they say, is it desirable in some instances. They draw the rather unique conclusion that some violations of disarmament agreements could go by unnoticed and not change the situation very radically.

Again, this study is subject to interpretation. It contains many sophisticated subtleties which may escape the average person here and abroad. One interpretation, that placed upon the study by the press, is that the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has abandoned or is in the process of abandoning the requirement of on-the-spot inspection as a prerequisite for any arms control or disarmament agreement.

This interpretation is that inspection can be replaced by verification. As any knowledgeable nuclear physicist will tell one, there is no little box, whether black, white, pink, or orange, that can possibly give adequate verification of the kind of violation about which we are most concerned. The Soviets know that we have an enormous stockpile of nuclear weapons. We know that they have a large stockpile of such weapons—between us, enough to destroy all life on this planet.

The problem is not so much one of nuclear weapons or nuclear explosions

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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

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Status of individual projects approved by the Governing Council of the Special Fund: May 1959-May 1962, as of Oct. 31, 1962—Con.

[NOTE.—Throughout this annex, the figures under "Special fund contribution," indicate gross project costs, i.e., including the recipient Governments, cash contributions to the project budgets.]

| Project by country or territory  | Approved by<br>Governing<br>Council | Executing<br>agency | Duration<br>of<br>project<br>(years) | Costs of individual projects<br>(U.S. dollar equivalents) |                              |  | Plan of<br>operation<br>signed<br>(date) | Authorization<br>to commence<br>execution<br>(date) |
|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|--|--|---|
|  |                                     |                     |                                      | Total   | Special fund<br>contribution | Estimated<br>Government<br>counterpart<br>contribution |  |   |
| REGIONAL: THE AMERICAS   |                                     |                     |                                      |   |                              |  |  |   |
| Industrial Research Institute <sup>1</sup>                                     | May 1959                            | UN                  | 5                                    | \$2,238,000   | \$2,238,000                  |  | May 10, 1960                             | May 10, 1960  |
| Engineering faculty, University of the West Indies <sup>2</sup>                | December 1959                       | UNESCO              | 5                                    | 3,426,940   | 904,000                      | \$2,522,940  | Aug. 25, 1960                            | Aug. 30, 1960                                       |
| Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences <sup>3</sup>                 | December 1960                       | FAO                 | 5                                    | 8,212,000   | 4,001,000                    | 4,211,000  |  |   |
| Latin American Development Institute <sup>4</sup>                              | January 1962                        | UN                  | 5                                    | 4,188,500   | 3,068,500                    | 1,120,000  | June 8, 1962                             | June 18, 1962                                       |
| Study for development of telecommunications in<br>Central America <sup>5</sup> | May 1962                            | IBRD                | 1                                    | 895,000   | 770,000                      | 125,000  |  |   |
| REGIONAL: ASIA AND THE FAR EAST  |                                     |                     |                                      |   |                              |  |  |   |
| Mekong tributary survey <sup>12</sup>  | December 1959                       | UN                  | 4                                    | 1,793,700   | 1,469,000                    | 324,700  | May 4, 1960                              | (13)  |
| Hydrographic survey of the lower Mekong <sup>13</sup>                          | December 1960                       | UN                  | 2                                    | 667,000   | 347,000                      | 320,000  | May 31, 1961                             | July 24, 1961                                       |
| Laos and Thailand: Survey of minerals and mineral<br>processing industries     | May 1961                            | UN                  | 2                                    | 569,300   | 424,300                      | 145,000  | Oct. 20, 1961                            | (14)  |
| Cambodia and Republic of Vietnam: Mekong River<br>delta model study            | do.                                 | UNESCO              | 3                                    | 758,800   | 642,800                      | 110,000  | May 2, 1962                              | May 25, 1962  |
| INTERREGIONAL  |                                     |                     |                                      |   |                              |  |  |   |
| Desert locust <sup>15</sup>  | December 1959                       | FAO                 | 6                                    | 3,866,000   | 3,866,000                    |  | Apr. 9, 1960 <sup>17</sup>               | June 8, 1960  |
| Total  |                                     |                     |                                      | 497,047,716   | 210,254,900                  | 286,792,816  |  |   |

<sup>1</sup> Project completed in June 1960.<sup>2</sup> Project completed in February 1962.<sup>3</sup> "Special fund contribution" includes, in addition to cash payments by the Government for local costs, a cash counterpart contribution equivalent to \$405,000.<sup>4</sup> Project concluded in March 1961.<sup>5</sup> Project completed in April 1961.<sup>6</sup> Participants: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.<sup>7</sup> Cash counterpart contributions by the participating governments totaling the equivalent of \$1,300,000 included under "Special fund contribution."<sup>8</sup> Participants: Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Kingdom on behalf of British Guiana and its non-self-governing territories in the Caribbean.<sup>9</sup> Participants: All member countries of the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.<sup>10</sup> Requesting Governments: Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela.<sup>11</sup> Participants: Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama.<sup>12</sup> Participants: Cambodia, Laos, Republic of Vietnam, and Thailand.<sup>13</sup> Laos and Thailand, July 14, 1960, Cambodia, Dec. 8, 1960, and Republic of Vietnam, June 14, 1961.<sup>14</sup> Thailand, Nov. 3, 1961, and Laos, Sept. 21, 1962.<sup>15</sup> Participants: Cameroon, Chad, Ethiopia, France and the French Community, Ghana, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Republic, Yemen, and the United Kingdom for and on behalf of Aden Colony and Protectorate, British Trustee-ship Territory of the Cameroons, Gambia, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and the Gulf States.<sup>16</sup> Cash counterpart contributions by the participating governments totaling the equivalent of \$1,309,850 included under "Special fund contribution."<sup>17</sup> Operations limited to those countries whose governments have completed their initial obligations.

## NEW RESIDUAL OIL IMPORT QUOTA ALLOCATIONS

(Mr. NYGAARD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. NYGAARD. Mr. Speaker, this morning I delivered a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, requesting the Department withhold publication of new residual oil import quota allocations until the projected schedules have been reviewed by key interested Members of the House of Representatives.

In view of the statements made on this floor by many of my colleagues, expressing concern over the increase in the quotas for foreign residual oil, I believe they will be interested in the request I have made to the Secretary of the Interior.

FEBRUARY 27, 1963.

Hon. STEWART L. UDALL,  
Secretary, Department of the Interior,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. SECRETARY: Since it is customary, I believe, for your office to announce a month in advance the oil import allocations for the year beginning April 1, it is likely that such an announcement is now in preparation.

It would logically be assumed that, because of the disastrous economic losses incurred by coal mining and oil producing regions as a consequence of the present high levels of oil imports, a reduction in ship-

ments of foreign oil to this country will be ordered for the year beginning April 1. Since conditions of high unemployment in this country have not thus far been taken into consideration in the administration of the oil import control program, however, there does exist the grave possibility that those charged with the responsibility of setting the quota limitations will permit incoming oil shipments to be increased rather than reduced. For this reason I urgently request that you postpone any action on the new schedule until it is discussed with Members of Congress whose constituencies are affected.

As representative of lignite mining communities whose very existences are imperiled by the waves of foreign residual oil inundating the Nation's fuel markets, and as a member of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I would, of course, appreciate an opportunity to preview the projections and to discuss them with designated authorities in your office. Because, however, you may prefer to limit further the number of those so favored, I would suggest that the matter could be handled satisfactorily by the chairmen and senior ranking members of these committees: Interior and Insular Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Ways and Means.

Obviously, the senior members of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee are familiar with the impact of foreign oil on the domestic fuel industries. Foreign affairs members are in better position to ascertain to what extent commitments might have been made to President Betancourt of Venezuela during his visit to Washington last week. Members of the Ways and Means Committee are cognizant of the promises

made to Congress on limiting oil imports from the time that the national security amendment to the Trade Agreements Act was first adopted.

I am confident that my colleagues here named would make an objective analysis of the proposed new import schedules and could, with more than a fair degree of accuracy, indicate to your office the probable reactions on the part of the House should the revised schedule again prove to be as offensive to the American economy as in the past year.

I shall appreciate your notifying all interested parties that the publication of new imports schedules will be delayed as long as is necessary for adjustments that will be in keeping with the will of Congress and the welfare of the United States.

Copies of this letter are being sent to Members of the House indicated above, and I shall ask that a copy of my letter to you be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Sincerely,

HJALMAR C. NYGAARD,  
Member of Congress.

## MR. KHRUSHCHEV AND CUBA

(Mr. BERRY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, the lead story in the Washington Star last night, and I assume all of the Associated Press papers across the Nation, told a most interesting story and one which should send cold chills down the spine of most Americans.

It told of a big political speech made by Mr. Khrushchev in his one-party election campaign. He said the Soviet Union "would come to the aid of its friends" should the West launch any attack on Cuba or Red China.

This, Mr. Speaker, is the first real proof we have had that Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Kennedy consider Cuba as Soviet territory. It is the first real proof we have had that the President has abandoned "our friends"—the free people of Cuba to the Communist dictatorship.

This brings the American people face to face with facts. Where do we stand? Have we actually abandoned the principles of freedom? Have we completely abandoned the Monroe Doctrine? Has this administration turned its back on the men who gave their lives in every war this Nation has fought to make the world or at least the Western Hemisphere safe for democracy?

When Mr. Khrushchev says he will go to the aid of his friends in Cuba is he referring to anyone other than Castro and a few of his hierarchy? What about the Cuban people? We fought one war to free them; do we now stand by and watch them ground under the slave heel of the Kremlin?

The American people want some answers. They want some facts and they want them now. Just what deals has this administration made and who has been traded off to whom?

#### THE NEW YORK NEWSPAPER STRIKE

Mr. LINDSAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Speaker, the New York newspaper strike long since ceased serving any useful purpose. No one has benefited; everyone has been irreparably hurt.

The chief damage has been done to the public. The public has been deeply prejudiced by this strike. And, for that reason the Federal Government should have moved on this long ago. The former Secretary of Labor, Mr. Goldberg, established a precedent of intervention in crisis strikes. He went up to New York during the Metropolitan Opera strike and forced the parties together. And yet it is argued now that the Federal Government cannot intervene in a local strike.

I do not know of a strike that has more serious overtones and undertones than does this one. The news blackout means that Government is operating in camera. It is the process of daily public scrutiny that keeps governments acting honestly and in the public interest. The public right to know is one of the most important rights ingrained in any democracy. It is important because governments will not long remain free and honest in the absence of a public press.

In my view government and governmental processes have abandoned the public in this case.

Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. Robert G. Spivack, a distinguished newspaperman,

published three articles on the subject of the New York newspaper strike. They are well worth reading, and I am taking the liberty of inserting them in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

#### THE LONELY METROPOLIS

Lively, lovely, exciting New York—Baghdad-on-the-Hudson—is today a mute, paralyzed, crippled city. She is like a helpless creature, unexpectedly stricken dumb and deaf. Dazed and staring vacantly, she is obviously in distress and yet so powerless to summon help.

People still rush about, the subways are crowded, the lights blink on Broadway. There are a handful of tradition-breakers who snatch a Philadelphia or Newark paper, or one of the half-dozen makeshift dailies, hastily patched together. The early morning gazers still stand outside the NBC studios watching the Today show. There are the curious in Pennsylvania station who pick up a clipboard to which has been clamped the latest UPI copy.

Superficially not much is different—until you start to talk to New Yorkers. Then you realize that nothing is the same and the full impact of what has happened starts to become apparent.

A great sadness has descended on the city, such as marked the passing of a beloved friend like, if you remember, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Are the newspapers missed? Has television filled the news gap?

I have never seen the big town or its inhabitants so glazed or so lonely or reacting so inadequately. At one moment it is as if some nerve gas has quietly seeped over the city and asphyxiated its residents. At other times you get the feeling that Manhattan Island has been set adrift from the mainland and silently floated out to sea.

The New Yorker feels cut off from America and the visitor from Washington is earnestly questioned about the outside world. There is probably no other American city where this would be quite so true, where the newspapers play such a vital role. The New York press is the heart of the big town through which its lifeblood flows. Without its papers the city is half-dead.

The printers' strike has been a catastrophe and it was unnecessary from the outset.

I say this as a union man.

I am a member of the American Newspaper Guild, have been for most of my adult life. There have been numerous strikes which, I felt, were justified. I intend to remain a member of the guild.

But I have taken no loyalty oath to Mr. Bert Powers of the ITU. Nor do I feel obliged to remain silent when a union leader makes a fool of himself.

Mr. Powers and a small clique in the New York locals of the ITU are primarily responsible for the strike. He may wrap himself in a mantle of rectitude. But Mr. Powers is no hero to organized labor, nor to the unorganized layman.

There is not a union leader in New York with whom I have spoken who has had a good word to say for the course Mr. Powers has charted. But they do their grumbling in silence or within "the club." This is unfortunate, because a word from a responsible union leader would carry weight.

What has happened, though, is that many who grew up in the thirties find themselves entrapped by their own rhetoric. There must always be labor unity. The boss, or in this case the publishers, must always be wrong.

This is one time when neither slogan is adequate. With all the publishers' shortcomings and all the rigidity of other years, most union leaders in New York say privately that Powers' bargaining methods and demands were outrageous, that no publisher in this economically distressed industry

could acquiesce and no paper could continue to publish in the manner to which New Yorkers have grown accustomed.

Perhaps Powers' greatest error has been that he has demonstrated such poor generalship. He left no room to maneuver. He provided no escape hatches for either the publishers or the ITU. He took a desperate gamble in December when, before the Christmas advertising was over, he decided to strike. It was a massive miscalculation.

When it did not pay off, when the non-striking papers also shut down, a mature labor leader would have left other courses of action open for himself. In all his grandiose planning, Mr. Powers overlooked this elementary fact of all warfare, whether it is political or military or labor. Instead he boxed himself in and thus far has not figured a way out.

#### WHO HAS BEEN HURT BY THE NEWSPAPER STRIKE?

New Yorkers are a special breed and, as a result, they are often misunderstood by those who live in other parts of the country.

To a visitor New York is an exciting town, but its people are strange. They hardly ever smile. Some seem fierce and withdrawn. Others act as if their mission in life is just to separate you and your cash. Frequently New Yorkers seem to look down on the outlander, regarding him as uncultured, uninformed, and a hick.

That, in part at least, is the background of the well-known comment, "New York is a nice place to visit but I wouldn't want to live there."

As one who came east from Ohio and grew to know and love New York, I believe this picture is a distortion. It is worth considering, though, why New Yorkers are different.

There are 8 million people from divergent backgrounds. If one does not wish to become involved with anyone else's interests and problems, the easiest way is to be withdrawn. The tendency for each man to become an island unto himself is not hard to understand. It is a protective defense against invasion of privacy.

Sometimes it is overdone. Some New Yorkers are so withdrawn they do not know their neighbor's name. Others do not start the day by saying, "Good morning." This is sad. It is one more reason why every New Yorker ought to be required to visit west of the Hudson, at least before he can be considered well educated.

But as their substitute for traveling, New Yorkers turn almost instinctively to the newspapers. As a result the city has been compelled to develop the best newspapers in the country; their readers are critical and demanding.

There are other towns with one good newspaper. But New Yorkers support seven of which at least six possess unusual qualities. Half the city's inhabitants read at least one newspaper daily. These reading habits have developed over the years. The morning newspaper is as important to start the day as that first cup of coffee.

So when Mr. Bert Powers of the International Typographical Union pulled what has turned out to be his disastrous printers' strike, the first victim was the newspaper reader. Shutting down the New York press was like ripping a delicate fabric. In this case the unseen damage done is not likely to be easily or quickly repaired.

Perhaps that is why for over 80 years the ITU has not gone on strike in New York. The union's earlier leaders were no less tough than Mr. Powers. They may have been wiser. In any event they were part of the newspaper tradition and the city's social structure.

If you have not lived in New York it may be difficult to understand the unique role that the press plays. But everyone can un-